

SETTLEMENTS AND CHURCHES IN

NOVA SCOTIA

1749 - 1776

The Origin of Protestant Churches in Relation to
Settlement, from the founding of Halifax to the American
Revolution.

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PREFACE.

The aim of this study is to give a comprehensive view of the origin and character of the Protestant churches in Nova Scotia before the American Revolution. This involves a detailed description of the earliest Protestant settlements; for a very close relationship existed between the two. There were no leaders in religious thought or even in missionary enterprise who stood out with sufficient prominence themselves to account for the beginnings of the separate communions. The churches grew out of settlements of varying character, the product of social, economic, and religious conditions prevalent in Europe and America. In each group of settlers there were persons who had been definitely attached to churches in their homeland, and these persons became the nucleus of a congregation in the settlements they made in Nova Scotia. At least, they brought with them to their new homes a preference for the forms of worship to which they had been accustomed. Many came from America; and the field of American immigration and Church history must be explored in the effort to tell how certain denominations found a foot-hold in Nova Scotia in the earliest period of its settlement under British rule.

The essay is in two parts. Part One makes an exhaustive survey of all settlements in the province before the revolutionary war, and gives the national origin of the settlers and the causes that brought them to Nova Scotia. Part Two shows how Protestant churches grew out of the settlements thus described, adding some chapters on their later fortunes.

Nova Scotia before the American Revolution included the same area as the Maritime Provinces of Canada do to-day. These provinces have therefore a common history for the first period of Protestant settlement. Yet, although that period is so well defined, and although it was a formative one in determining the character of the governmental and religious institutions that mark the present-day life of these provinces, no effort has been made hitherto to group the settlements systematically in the way attempted here, or to throw light on the origin of Protestant churches by a scientific examination of the economic causes of settlement.

The chief result of research in the present study is to emphasize the influence of America on every phase of life in Nova Scotia before the Revolution. Articles on the general history of the province concede the effect of New England on the course of events in Nova Scotia before the founding of Halifax; but the prominence given by certain historians to the official life centred about the government offices and the Army and Navy Headquarters at the capital, has obscured the fact that the influence of New England continued to be dominant throughout the country settlements, and even at Halifax, until after the coming of the Loyalists. In articles on church history there appears to have been the same failure to recognize that the under-current of the life of the colony flowed from New England. The catalogue of settlements and churches given in this essay will make it clear that New Englanders formed the largest racial group in the province from 1760 to 1770, and that the influence of the Congregational church of these settlers extended to all communions.

Church histories of the province have shown a further defeat; historians have been too exclusively concerned with the separate history of their own denominations. A careful study of the religious life of the settlements shows a close connection between the Protestant churches before 1783. There are many instances of friendliness and cooperation between Churchman and Dissenter; a marked contrast to the succeeding period when the question of loyalty that had arisen in the War of Independence, made the position of the Church of England a more exclusive one. Congregationalists and Presbyterians were in actual affiliation.

The catalogue of settlements, and the lists of congregations and pastors are meant to be exhaustive for the Protestant churches. No attempt has been made to discuss the familiar and pathetic history of the Acadians, their expulsion and return; nor to tell the story of the enterprising Roman Catholic Church, which belongs mainly to the nineteenth century.

It has been said that no problem is more worthy of the study of a critical historian than the relation of Church politics to new communities, if that study can reveal the secret of one church's failure and another's success. It is hoped that this survey of the origins and fortunes of Protestant churches in Nova Scotia, and their struggle for existence in the life of a frontier province in the eighteenth century, will have some values for members of the same churches in the twentieth, as they face the missionary needs of the frontier in the larger life of the Dominion.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS.

N. S., A.	Nova Scotia State Papers, "A" series. Ottawa.
N. S. Arch.	Nova Scotia Archives. Halifax.
N. B. H. S.	New Brunswick Historical Society, Publications.
N. S. H. S.	Nova Scotia Historical Society, Publications.
M.	Murdoch, B. 'History of Nova Scotia.'
O. 17th.	Osgood, H. The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century.
O. 18th.	Osgood, H. The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century.
P. A. of C.	Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.
P. E. I., A.	Prince Edward Island State Papers, "A" series Ottawa.
R. S. C.	Royal Society of Canada, Proceedings.
S. P. G.	Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

PART ONE
SETTLEMENTS

this had better stand
before p. 26

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

In the eighteenth century the territory now included in the Maritime Provinces of Canada was called Nova Scotia.

The name
Nova Scotia

This Latinized form of "New Scotland" was the name applied by Sir William Alexander to the lands

granted him by James I and confirmed to him by Charles I.

"New Scotland" first appears in print on Alexander's map of 1624, and it is the common form found on maps until 1713. The original charter was in Latin; and the landlords holding the country from Alexander were created "Knights Baronets of Nova Scotia", facts that popularized the Latin form. This form became finally accepted as a result of the long negotiations following the Treaty of Utrecht where in all copies of the Treaty the title "Nova Scotia" was exclusively used.

Until the Peace of Paris was signed in 1763 the boundaries of Nova Scotia were very indefinite. The French called the

Boundaries
to 1763.

country "Acadie", the name in the (1)
charter given to De Monte in 1603¹⁶⁰³ of
territories which extend, on a modern

map, from the latitude of Philadelphia to some distance north of Montreal. Later, the "Acadie" of the French came to have its north-eastern boundary in Gaspé and its south-western frontier on the Kennebec River. The limits of "Acadie" were substantially the same as those of the "Nova Scotia" given to Sir William

(1) Parkman, Pioneers of France in the New World, 247, also N. S.: A 1, 1.

Alexander. When the Treaty of Utrecht was signed in 1713, "all, 'Nova Scotia' or 'Acadie', with its ancient boundaries" (1) was ceded to England. The English assumed the indentivity of names and claimed the whole country. The French endeavored to limit this claim. They maintained that "Acadie" in the Treaty meant only the south coast of the peninsula, now the modern province of Nova Scotia. Diplomacy was never able to settle the dispute. The question was debated by Commissaries of both nations who met first in 1750. (2) After four years they had reached no agreement. Not until 1763 were the northern boundaries of Nova Scotia settled. The point at issue became one of the causes of the great war that transferred all the French possessions in North America to Great Britain.

The Treaty of Paris in 1763 was followed by decisions that fixed the limits of the British colony of Nova Scotia more definitely. The disputed northern territory, the Isle St. Jean and Isle Royale, islands formerly held (3) by France by right of treaty, came under British control through military successes in the war. The islands were brought under the government centered in Halifax. The limits of the colony on the north and west were also provisionally settled. Both Massachusetts and

Boundaries
1763-1783.

- (1) Treaty of Utrecht, Article XII; George Chalmers, "A Collection of Treaties between G. B. and other Powers" I, 380.
- (2) The sailing of the Commissaries is referred to in the Boston News-Letter, September 6th, 1750.
- (3) Isle Royale, and other islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, including the Isle St. Jean, were specially reserved to France by the Treaty of Utrecht, Article XIII, op. cit.

Nova Scotia in the English view had always extended northward
 to the St. Lawrence.⁽¹⁾ Consequently when Quebec was formed a
 province extending to the St. Lawrence-Atlantic water-shed by
 the Act of 1774, this southern boundary became the northern
 boundary of both Massachusetts and Nova Scotia. On this point
 there appears to have been no misunderstanding during the interval
 between 1763 and 1783. But the boundary between Nova Scotia
 and Massachusetts has a different history. Territory as far
 as the Penobscot River was claimed by the government of Nova
 Scotia; while Massachusetts contended for a line at the St. Croix,⁽²⁾
 a river mentioned in disputes with France since 1621, and which
 was later, in 1783, made the boundary line between Maine and New
 Brunswick.⁽³⁾ The St. Croix was finally accepted under instructions
 given to Governor Wilmot of Nova Scotia in 1763; although the
 intermediate territory between the St. Croix and the Penobscot
 was assigned to Massachusetts only in 1765. These instructions
 on the western limits of Nova Scotia were continued to his
 successors down to 1782.

- (1) Ganong, W. F. 'A Monograph of the Evolution of the
 Boundaries of the Province of New Brunswick' R.S.C. 1901.
- (2) For the claim of Massachusetts to the country between the
 Kennebec and the St. Croix, see Massachusetts House
 Journals, 1762, p. p. 48 and 76.
- (3) "Although our said Province has anciently extended, and
 does of right extend as far as the river Penobscot, it
 shall be bounded by a line drawn from Cape Sable across
 the entrance of the Bay of Fundy to the mouth of the
 River St. Croix, by the said river to its source, and by
 a line drawn north from thence to the southern boundary
 of our colony of Quebec"; -commission to Governor Wilmot,
 1763; P. A., of C. M-460, 49; Transcript from Colonial
 Office Records A. 72.

A hundred years before the pensinula of Nova Scotia came permanently under British rule, and one hundred and fifty years

The French
Settlements:
Port Royal.

before the British succeeded in establishing Protestant settlements in this territory, the French had made their first plantations on the soil of Acadie. For a century after the discovery of America no European nation planted any colony in North America to rival the Spanish fort at St. Augustin, Florida. Spain, an undivided Catholic power, her strength not dissipated by internal troubles, maintained her supremacy in the New World. England under Elizabeth found it more profitable to raid the commerce of Spain than to plant out-posts of her race in the wilderness. France, her energies wasted by Italian intrigues and later torn by the wars of the League, abandoned the beginnings that Cartier had made on the St. Lawrence.

The only prelude to the later attempts of France to plant colonies in the west were the unfortunate efforts of the famous Coligny, leader of the Hugenots, to establish a refuge for his persecuted countrymen in settlements begun in Florida and South Carolina, where all perished through the treachery and cruelty of the Spaniards. But at the beginning of the seventeenth century France, England, and Holland disputed the claim of Spain to all America in permanent settlements extending from the St. Lawrence to Virginia: and of these the fort built by De Monts at Port Royal was the earliest.

De Monts' enterprise can scarcely be said to have begun
 (1)
 the settlements of Acadie; its interest for this study lies
 in its Huguenot character. A lull in the tempestuous struggles
 between Catholic and Huguenot in France enabled merchants and
 adventurers of the moderate Catholic party to unite with
 (2)
 Protestant traders in the enterprise. Such harmony was short-
 lived. The Calvinists of Rochelle were jealous of the monopoly
 in fur trading granted to De Monts, although De Monts was a
 Huguenot himself and high in the favor of Henry IV. The
 charter of De Monts was revoked in 1607; and the Huguenot
 character of the settlement at Port Royal came to an end in
 1610 with the assassination of Henry IV, and a Catholic
 reaction against the toleration of Huguenot enterprise in the
 New World. This attitude became definite policy under
 Cardinal Richelieu, and the Protestants of France were shut out

- (1) Few or no settlers were brought by De Monts to till the soil. The Huguenots of France were as a rule artisans, merchants, and traders, and it may be doubted whether the Huguenot colonies in Acadie would have flourished, had they been countenanced by the French Government. Of the families brought to Port Royal, Murdoch states that De Monts brought eight; Lescarbot mentions none; Charlevoix (I.88) says that several were sent out by De Monts. These may have gone to the St. Lawrence. It is likely that all returned to France.
- (2) Letters Patent from Henry IV were given De Monts on December 13th, 1603.

(1)

from any further interest either in Acadie or in Canada.

Poutrincourt succeeded to the wilderness domain abandoned by De Monts. On his return to France, Biencourt his son, with family and followers, maintained the slender thread of the French occupancy of Acadie, and led a roving life with the Indians. Permanent reinforcements arrived under De Razilly. The forty families which he brought from France in 1633 and settled first at Le Hève, then at Port Royal, ~~where~~ the nucleus from which the Catholic Acadian population of Acadie grew.

- (1) The Company of the One Hundred Associates of New France was formed by an Act at Paris (18th of Louis XIII: confirmatory patent dated 'camp before Rochelle, May 6th, 1628'). Its powers extended to Acadie. Richelieu, keenly interested in the development of the French navy, favored the settlement of Acadie to form a training-ground for a race of seamen. The charter of the company definitely states: "the settlers to be Catholic only". It is well-known that Huguenots were forbidden to land on the shores of the St. Lawrence; but whether they were shut out from the more open waters of the Bay of Fundy seems questionable. Many of the families brought by Razilly and Charnisay came from Saintonge, and from the neighborhood of Rochelle, the stronghold of Calvinism. One family is known to have been Protestant, that of La Tour. Villebon, writing from fort St. John on June 27th, 1699, states that "having been at Chibouctou, where the Company had established fishermen, he ascertained that a great part of them had withdrawn to Boston; because they were of the Protestant religion, and recommends that such be employed as little as possible." (Murd. I. 241). It therefore appears that in Acadie, a country more accessible to commerce, more exposed to the fortunes of war than Canada, (where the Jesuits held uninterrupted sway), and passing from hand to hand between French and English, a measure of Huguenot immigration was absorbed by the Catholic settlements.
- (2) Two works, frequently to be referred to in this essay, are indispensable for the student of Nova Scotian history; "The History of Nova Scotia", in three volumes by Beamish Murdoch, a detailed statement of facts without interpretation; and, 'New Englands outpost; Acadia before the Conquest of Canada', by A. C. Brebner, ~~a recent work, and very scientific.~~
Columbia University, 1927, a scientific work.

From this place the Acadians spread to the Basin of Minas. Almost simultaneously they made settlements at Chignecto and about the head of the Cobequid Bay. Their natural increase was very rapid after 1685; and at the time of the expulsion they numbered from six to ten thousand.⁽¹⁾

The century which witnessed the planting of the first French settlements in Acadie and the growth of a native

Acadian population also saw the earliest
Early attempts at
Protestant Settle- attempts at the Protestant settlement
ment by the British.
of the same area by the English. A

part or the whole of Acadie fell into the hands of the English four times before the final capture of Port Royal in 1710. Yet during the intervals of British suzerainty only one serious attempt was made to bring Protestant and English speaking settlers into the country. This was the projected Scots colony of Sir William Alexander, afterwards Lord Stirling. A mist of intrigue obscures the fortunes of this plan both at the court of Charles I and in the wilderness of Nova Scotia. In England at the time men were deeply interested in schemes of colonization. Alexander

- (1) The growth of the Acadian population may be traced as follows: Charnisay brought 20 additional families from France in 1638. In 1651 more families were brought out by Charles de la Tour. The arrival of 60 individuals is noted in 1671. Because of the Indian War, a number of French left the shores of Maine and came to Port Royal, about the year 1700. Census returns are as follows: 1671, 441; 1679, 515; 1683, 600; 1686, 885; 1693, 1009; 1698, 1100; 1701, 1136; 1703, 1244; 1707, 1484; 1714, 1773. (Brebner, 46, quoting Census of Canada 1870-71, Vol. 4, pp 10-50). In 1755, north of the isthmus of Chignecto alone, they numbered 2500. Estimates of the total population at the time of the expulsion vary greatly.

was especially stimulated to make his settlements through his knowledge of the plans of Sir Ferdinando Georges. The Ulster settlement had been completed; and James I, whose attention was now turned to America, proceeded to grant him the required territory on September 29th, 1621, the rights to which had been surrendered by the New England Council. The grant was confirmed to him by a patent from Charles I, July 12th, 1625. Three years elapsed before the Scots settlers were established at Port Royal and Des Baleines. Already, however, the schemes of Alexander were doomed through the perfidy of Charles. The relations between the French and English courts, between the two sovereigns, between Acadie and New England, and between Alexander's claims and the plans of Richelieu, are peculiarly intricate and difficult to unravel at this time. When the Peace of Susa, April 23rd, 1629, terminated the hostilities with France that had been forced on Charles by the intrigues of Buckingham, a clause was inserted in the treaty stating that all conquests made after the date of signature should be restored. With this condition as an excuse, Charles gave up to France the territory he had granted Alexander. But the truth is that Charles had already parted with his possessions in Nova Scotia in return for the payment

- (1) By a patent from James I in 1606 all North America from the 24th to the 45th degrees had been given the two companies of London and Plymouth. The Plymouth or northern trading company was remodelled as the Council for New England. Georges, called the 'father of English colonization in America', forwarded the scheme of Alexander in the hope that the Scots would form a buffer state against French aggression. (Insh, 'Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1626-1686', 54)

of his French Queen's dowry, which he needed in his fight against Parliament. July 10th, 1631, Alexander received orders to abandon Port Royal, leaving its boundaries "altogether waste and unpeopled."⁽¹⁾

No further scheme for the Protestant settlement of the country was put forward in the seventeenth century. Under Cromwell Acadie again became the possession of England.⁽²⁾

- (1) N. S., A. 1. 33. The date and extent of Alexander's settlements, and the fate of the Scots settlers, are problems in the history of Nova Scotia on which little light has been shed. It has been claimed that Alexander's settlement at Port Royal occurred in 1629 and not in 1628. Alexander made a voyage to Acadie in 1628; for he presented a gift to the church at Stirling on his safe return from the sea (Stirling Kirk Session Records, Dec. 23rd, 1628). This is also attested by a letter of Mr. William Maxwell, Edin., to Sir John Maxwell of Pollock, Nov. 23rd, 1628, - "It is for certaintie that Sir William Alexander is come home again from Nova Scotia, and hath left behind 70 men and 2 weemen. (The Maxwells of Pollock, II. 199). But these colonists are declared by Insh to have gone to Tadoussac under cover of Kirke's expedition against Quebec. His inference is based partly on a record that Alexander's and Kirke's vessels left Gravesend in company, March 25th, 1629. Alexander's settlement near the modern Louisburg, Cape Breton, was swept away almost at once by Capt. Daniels, of Dieppe (Champlain II, 334). At Port Royal, the Scots settlers were re-inforced in the summer of 1630 by a party of colonists brought by the elder La Tour. Many died; and the remainder, when the fort was handed over to De Razilly, either were taken to Boston, or were sent home, or remained and intermarried with the French. In 1827 the fort they had constructed was still visible. Whether the Scots settlements in Nova Scotia would have flourished and changed so greatly the future of the country as some historians have thought, had the political circumstances of Alexander's attempt been more favorable, is a question. The Scots were not a numerous people, and they were very poor. They were not at this time, by tradition, sea-farers; but rather soldiers of fortune. They were to be found in the armies of Gustavus Adolphus. Even in times of persecution, later in the 17th century, Scotsmen did not cross the ocean to escape, as did the Puritans from England, "but fled to the continent and looked to Rotterdam or to Utrecht for an asylum."
- (2) "No one is to reside in the country but Protestants": Patent from Oliver Cromwell to La Tour, Temple, and Crown; Aug. 9, 1656. (French and English Commissaries, 727, 732.)

LeBorgne surrendered to Sidgewick and Leverette in 1654. Sir Thomas Temple became the English governor. He bought out the seignorial rights of LaTour, and established at Jamseg in 1659 the first English trading post on the St. John River, but he made no attempt to introduce settlers.⁽¹⁾ The Treaty of Breda, July 1667, and the action of the perfidious Charles II, compelled him to hand over Acadie to the Chevalier de Grande-fontaine in 1670.

When Port Royal was captured by the New England troops under Colonel Nicholson in 1710, and the peninsula of Nova Scotia

British indifference to schemes for Protestant settlement before 1749	became a permanent British possession, a plan was drawn up whereby the soldiers might be granted land. Colonel Vetch
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in 1711 also asked for colonists from England. Further proposals for the Protestant settlement of Nova Scotia were submitted within the next few years.⁽²⁾ But it does not appear that any lands were taken up except by a few officers at Annapolis who made purchases from the Acadians.⁽³⁾ The Home government did not support these schemes. The plans originated for the most part in New England; and the number of New Englanders involved made the Lords of Trade delay. In 1721 was published a great report on the Colonies. It deplored their

(1) "Acadie, being at present unpeopled." Sir Thomas Temple to the Lords of the Council, Nov. 24th, 1668. "Commissaries" 590.

(2) Among these were the proposals of Samuel Waldo, founder of German settlements in Maine; and the petition in 1718 of Sir Alex. Cairns for a grant near Chebucto, to build a town and grow hemp.

(3) Purchases of Sir Charles Hobby, (Brebner, 59) cf. grants to officers. (Breb. 145)

growing republicanism, and explains why a plan of government made on the model of Virginia, the least independent of the colonies, was submitted to the Governors at Annapolis, and why there was general disapproval of Nova Scotia becoming the mere annex of New England, where the democratic spirit was strongest. After 1730, the Governors Philipps and Mascarene, resident at Annapolis, renewed attempts to bring Protestant settlers into the country. Philipps placed an advertisement of the lands available in a Boston paper.⁽¹⁾ But he was not encouraged to continue; nor were the philanthropic plans of Thomas Coram, founder of the London Foundling Hospital, for the Protestant settlement of Nova Scotia ever brought to maturity. The timber policy of British Government was one reason for their failure. Vast areas of forest land were to be surveyed first and to be reserved for the cutting of masts for the Royal navy. Some preserves were formally marked off; others were only vaguely indicated, and in this way settlement was indefinitely delayed.⁽³⁾ Further, the best

(1) Dated Annapolis Royal, Aug. 26th, 1732.

(2) N. S., A. 23; 89, 115; * 24; 2.

(3) "No regular settlement might be proceeded with either between the Penobscot and the St. Croix, or in Nova Scotia proper, until 100,000 acres of reserves had been set aside in the former area and 200,000 in the later". (Breb. 100.) In attempting to preserve the white pines above 24 inches in diameter for the King's ships England aroused at an early date an antagonism in New England that foreshadowed the spirit of the Revolution. "No person or persons whatever..shall presume to cut, fell, or destroy any white Pine Trees, not growing within any township or the bounds or limits thereof, in any of the said Colonies or Plantations, without His Majesty's Royal License for so doing has first been obtained." (8 Geo. Ic. 12) This 'Broad Arrow' jurisdiction was extended to N. S. in 1721, in 1730 Colonel Dunbar's deputies were busy making reservations in the woods. (Cal. S. P. 1708-9, 407, 408; 1710-11, 245, 551, 552; N. S. Arch. II, 176. Quoted in Albion, R. E. 'Forests and Sea Power,' 291.)

lands were generally believed to be in the hands of the Acadians, and these people were protected by the British government, which hoped that in time they would take the oath of allegiance. New settlers would run risks through lack of protection. But the chief reason is to be found in the ignorance and indifference of Walpole's government and especially of the Duke of Newcastle. Many British statesmen were totally ignorant of the geography (1) of the country, and a misapprehension about its climate remained strong in the minds of the ordinary people until a late date. Neglect of the colonies was the deliberate policy of Walpole. As a result, no Protestant settlement in Nova Scotia was actually begun throughout all this period, with the possible (2) exception of a life-saving station on Sable Island. The Protestant and English-speaking residents in Nova Scotia at the time of the arrival of Cornwallis in 1749 were confined to the

- (1) "Those were the days when the Secretary of State immediately in charge of the colonies frequently referred to New England as an island, and the Duke of Newcastle was amazed to discover that Cape Breton was not a part of the mainland" (Mayo, L.S.) When General Ligonier hinted some defence to Newcastle for Annapolis he replied "Annapolis, Annapolis! Oh, yes, Annapolis must be defended, to be sure Annapolis should be defended - where is Annapolis?" (Lecky, W. E. H., 'History of England' II. 5; quoting Walpole, 'Memoirs of George II' I, 396.) Goldsmith wrote of the settlement at Halifax in 1749 that "Nova Scotia was a country where men might be imprisoned but not maintained", and of the soldiers sent out as settlers; "Thus did the nation send off her hardy veterans to perish on inhospitable shores, and thus they were taught to believe would extend their dominions." ("School History of England" 339, 340.)
- (2) An application was made for the island by M. LeMercier, a Huguenot minister resident in Boston, on March 6th, 1738. The grant was made. Nova Scotia and Massachusetts governments were warned not to interfere. It is said many lives were saved by the station. The island is found offered for sale by M. Le Mercier in the Boston News Letter, Feb. 8th, 1753.

(1)
families of officers and soldiers at Annapolis and of the few
New England merchants there, and to a summer colony of New
England fishermen at Canso. (2)
Thus for thirty years of the
period when colonists from Europe were beginning to flock in
large numbers to America, none came to Nova Scotia.

The history of settlement in Nova Scotia by persons of
European origin covers three hundred years. Events of a
decisive nature in the eighteenth
century divide these three centuries
into two periods of almost equal
duration; the period of settlement
by the French lasting one hundred and fifty years, from the
founding of Port Royal until the expulsion of the Acadians; and
the period of settlement under British rule from the founding of
Halifax until the present day. In the preceding sketch the
first period, one hundred and fifty years, has been surveyed,
the history of the French Catholic settlements has been briefly
traced, along with the feeble attempts of the English to
colonize the country with Protestant settlers.

The second period, the following century and a half, saw
the Protestant settlement under British rule actually taking

- (1) In 1720 there were 12 families in Annapolis in addition to the families of the soldiers. In 1744, although many families had been sent to Boston, 70 women and children are declared left behind. (For the early history of the garrison at Annapolis see Nova Scotia Archives II, and III edited by A. MacMechan.
- (2) "In winter but three or four families of civilians remain at Canso." (Letter of Mascarene to Board of Trade, 1740, M. II, 8.)

place in three distinct migrations; the Pre-Loyalist, the Loyalist, and the Scottish. The following essay deals with the

The first *sub-*
period of
settlement
under British
rule, the subject
of this essay.

first of these. In the succeeding
pages it will be seen how, although
early English and American schemes of
colonization languished, and although

at first British control scarcely extended
beyond the range of the guns at Annapolis, nevertheless in 1749
the tide of settlement began to turn toward Nova Scotia; and
how, from this time on, successive waves of settlement flowed
over the province like the tidal waters of its famous Bay, first
following the outer sea-ways and then penetrating to the
innermost recesses of the peninsula.

PART ONE

CHAPTER ONE.

HALIFAX AND LUNENBURG.

The Protestant settlement of Nova Scotia began while military dramas of the eighteenth century held the stage of American history.

Military
Dramas of the
18th century.

The War of the Austrian Succession,
lasting from 1744 to 1748, and

coincident with the Third French and

Indian War in America, brought about the first step, the founding of Halifax and Lunenburg. The Seven Years War, lasting from 1756 to 1763, and called in America the Fourth French and Indian War, was followed by the major wave of settlement from New England. This conflict was the culmination of the struggle between France and England for world empire, and its final year marked the zenith of British power in the eighteenth century. The war for American Independence brought to an end the first period of the Protestant settlement of Nova Scotia under British rule.

Military establishments rather than agricultural communities mark the progress of settlement during the first eleven years. Halifax and Lunenburg were such establishments. Their story, with the causes that produced these settlements, and the character of their populations, is only a prelude to the history of the general settlement of the province.

The long peace that was co-extensive with the administration of Walpole ended in America in the Third French and Indian War.

France and England struggled in part for the control of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and its fisheries. Both sides strove

for key positions. The French
 Halifax founded as
 a result of the fall
 of Louisbourg. The
 Third French and
 Indian War.
 burned Canso and attacked Annapolis
 in 1744. The New Englanders
 retaliated the next year in an expedition
 against Louisbourg directed by Governor Shirley of Massachusetts
 and led by Pepperall. The motive that prompted the attack on
 Louisbourg was largely a commercial one, for Massachusetts
 depended on her fisheries; but the memory of cruel French and
 Indian raids on the out-settlements of Maine, that had taught
 the inhabitants of New England to look on the frontiers of
 Nova Scotia as their own frontier, and the effects of the great
 religious revival which had recently swept over New England and
 increased the anti-Catholic ardor of the Puritan troops, gave
 to the enterprise something of the character of a crusade.
 Louisbourg fell after a short siege in 1745. The triumph
 of the provincials was short-lived. Great numbers of the
 New England soldiers died of fever after its capture. On top of
 this disaster came a greater blow, when hopes of retaining the
 conquest were dashed by the sweeping action of the British
 plenipotentiaries at Aix-la-Chapelle, October 8th, 1748. The
 hard won fortress was handed over to the French in exchange, it is
 said, for Madras; and the whole province narrowly escaped a similar
 fate.

The restoration of Louisbourg to the French, which brought such dismay to the New Englanders, and seemed to be a betrayal of their efforts, led directly to the founding of Halifax, and eventually to the peaceful settlement of Nova Scotia. Shirley, who has been termed the "spearhead of New England interest in Acadian affairs", and "the most watchful and strenuous defender of British interests in America", pressed on the British Government the recommendations for Protestant settlement that had been made through him by Mascarene, Governor at Annapolis. Shirley was an Imperialist who devoted every energy to driving the French from America. He proposed that a military base be established somewhere on the south coast of the Province as an offset to the fortifications of Louisbourg, which the French were about to rebuild on an immensely strong scale.

Capable leadership was given to these proposals by Lord

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- (1) Paul Mascarene to Board of Trade, Oct. 1748.(P. A. of C. 1894, 131). The south-east coast had long been recognized as the proper place for a military and naval centre. "This country will never be of consequence in trade until the seat of government be removed to the eastern coast" - Philipps. (M. I, 368; Dickerson, 'American Colonial Government' 17-22; and Andrews, 'Guide to the Materials' for American History to 1783 in the Public Record Office of Great Britain' I, 82-83.)

(1)

Halifax, Chairman of the Board of Trade. Officially all suggestions were made by the Board although they had originated in New England, and had come with greatest force from Shirley. Lord Halifax

Halifax had taken his seat on the Board as First Lord on November 11th, 1748. On March 4th, 1749, he communicated to the Board a "proposal which he had laid before His Majesty and had been approved by him, for the establishment of a civil government in the province of Nova Scotia and for settling several thousand Protestant subjects within the same." (2) Apart from the energy displayed by the Governor of Massachusetts, it was the personal qualities of Halifax in overcoming the traditional lethargy of the Board that brought about the settlement on the shores of Chebucto Bay, called by his name.

In their plans the Board was very greatly influenced by an experiment in colonization carried out recently by the British

- (1) The Board of Trade had been formed by William III (by commission under the Great Seal, May 15th, 1696) "for promoting the trade of our kingdom and for inspecting and improving our plantations in America and elsewhere" (New York Col. Doc., IV, 145). Its correct title in the eighteenth century was 'the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations'. It had been created for the collection and presentation of information; leaving executive authority in the Crown. In its first years the Board had been active. But during the period of Whig supremacy, governmental agencies were subordinated to the political exigences of the time. Little effort had been made by Walpole to appoint to the Board men who would be interested in their duties. (Basye, 'The Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations'.)

From 1748 to 1752, years in which the British Parliament had little to do with the colonies, the Board was very active under the guidance of Lord Halifax, and paid more attention to Nova Scotia than to any other colony. The interest of the Board continued throughout the period to be strongest force from across the ocean directing its fortunes.

- (2) C. O. 391, 56; (Journals of the Board of Trade.)

government in the founding of Georgia. A long time had now passed since any new settlements had Nova Scotia and Georgia regarded as parallel settlements been attempted by England in America. Georgia was founded in 1732, as a proprietary colony in which the philanthropist Oglethorpe was the chief holder. It was an Imperialistic move on the part of the British government to extend their frontier in America on the south; and, in this respect, their interest in the settlement of Nova Scotia a few years later is an example of the same policy further matured, the extension of the British frontier on the north. It is important for the understanding of the activities of the Board to note in what respects Nova Scotia became a counterpart to Georgia, and how far the two may be regarded as parallel. In the planting of both settlements at this period Britain showed its belief in the importance of sea-board colonies. The problem, again, of the defence of the Georgia settlements against the Spaniards from St. Augustine resembled that of the protection necessary to British settlers in Nova Scotia against the French menace from Louisbourg. The schemes had many features in common. A preliminary survey was made for both. A subsidy was granted for the growing of hemp. In the disposal of lands, the system that applied in Georgia was maintained in Nova Scotia. In both colonies similar complaints arose about the character of some of the original settlers. It was said that the 'drones' were sent to Georgia. Cornwallis

(1) Benjamin Franklin: Autobiography. (Franklin's Works, Vol. I, 221, Federal Edition)

(2) Ford, A. E. 'Colonial Precedents of our National Land System',

made similar protests to the Board of Trade. In the support of the Georgia colony by the home authorities, a precedent for the administration of the new colony in Nova Scotia was found from which England did not escape for many years. Never before the founding of Georgia had the British government undertaken the financial support of a colony. In Nova Scotia during the first years of settlement vast sums were expended. But it was not organized as a proprietary colony. Adverse experience in Georgia as well as a strong preference for a 'Royal Government' like that in Virginia, had decided the British Government to administer Nova Scotia directly through a Governor and Council appointed by the Crown.

The Board, although merely an advisory body for so long, under the energy of Lord Halifax carried out the Nova Scotia scheme on its own responsibility, and arranged all the details of the expedition entrusted to Edward, Lord Cornwallis. The Board prepared advertisements which called for farmers and mechanics, and offered a free passage to Nova Scotia, subsistence for a year after landing, and arms, ammunition, and utensils; gave the contracts for three thousand persons to be victualled at government expense for twelve months; saw that the transports were equipped with ventilators, a new invention, called "Sutton's airpipes," and supplied the expedition with medical officers, clergymen of the Established Church, and school-masters. Clerks of the Board were present during the

(1) In 1780 Burke announced the money spent on Nova Scotia to have been £700,000.

embarkation at Southampton. The fleet of thirteen transports and a sloop of war arrived in June ¹⁷⁴⁹ at Chebucto Bay, a place already well known to New England fishermen, and made famous two years before as a rendezvous for the Duc D'Anville's shattered fleet. Immediately on disembarkation land on the west side of the harbour was cleared; and the new colony, (1) protected with palisade and rough batteries, named Halifax.

The population of Halifax for the first four years numbered about five thousand and was composed of several distinct groups. Of these groups five were most prominent; the original immigrants who came in the transports of Cornwallis, the soldiers and the sailors, the settlers and merchants from New England, the

Cosmopolitan nature of Halifax pop- ulation.	Foreign Protestants, and the Acadian French. Those that had come with Cornwallis in answer to the advertisements published in England were themselves a nondescript group, very few of whom were of the type to make good citizens, and most of whom left the colony within the next four years. The numbers of soldiers and sailors varied greatly. Acadian French numbering several hundred were hired to work on the fortifications. The most numerous group, and the class that soon formed the basis of the resident population were the New Englanders. Some of these had been at Louisbourg and had come
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(1) MacMechan, A. "Nova Scotia under English Rule", 1713-1755 (Canada and its Provinces, XIII, 81) The first mention of Chebucto Bay is in Champlain's Voyages, Vol. I. A French Engineer, M. Delabat, had submitted plans for its fortification as early as 1711. (D. A. Story, "Halifax Chronicle," March 18th, 1929)

to Halifax when the fortress was given up to the French; the majority sailed directly to Chebucto Bay from Massachusetts in their fishing vessels, in response to an advertisement printed in a Boston newspaper calling for settlers for the new city of (1) Halifax. It is believed that nearly one thousand of these joined the colony before the first winter. In addition to these larger groups there were a few Jews, a number of Sicilians from the Azores, one or two Welsh, and several Irish Catholics who had come as servants. Thus the population of Halifax in the earliest years was most cosmopolitan, and this character was to a great extent maintained, as was natural in a sea-port. (2) The settlement did not present a very favorable field for missionary work. Rum sellers and suttlers, who followed the regiments, infested the city in great numbers and by their illicit selling of liquor were a great embarrassment to all who sought the welfare of the inhabitants. Customs and religious tendencies were diverse and did not correspond very closely to those of the settlements made later in other parts of the province. In the uncouthness of life among the lower orders, in the circle of society and official life ruled by the Army and Navy, in the constant intercourse of its merchants through trade with the West Indies, Europe, and America, (3) Halifax went its own way among the settlements.

(1) Boston Gazette; August 22nd, 1749.

(2) Criminals do not seem to have been among the number, but complaints were made in New England about the "foul harvest of the London prisons" sent to America. (Boston Gazette; May 8th, 1753.)

(3) English-speaking settlers from the old country continued to arrive after the first ship-loads brought by Cornwallis, with whom came 2576 persons. Of these, 1400 were settlers (Letter of Cornwallis July 24, 1749, N.S. A, 34, 202). Further ship-loads, (of which a record remains) are: 115 settlers in the "Nancy" from Liverpool, Aug. 1749; 350 in the "Alderney", Aug. 1750; in the "Nancy" (spring of 1752) no. of settlers not obtainable.

Next to the arrival of New Englanders at Halifax the most important addition made at this time to the permanent population of Nova Scotia was the coming of the Foreign Protestants from the continent of Europe. For a brief space, not quite two years, Nova Scotia received a portion of the stream of German emigration that flowed steadily to America throughout the eighteenth century. None came to Nova Scotia before 1750 and none came after 1752. The causes of their emigration and the reasons that brought them to Halifax ^{form} ~~is~~ a study intimately connected with the history of the main movement of Germans to America.

The Foreign
Protestants

Intermittent war for a hundred years accompanied by persecution of Protestants, principally affecting the provinces on the Rhine, called the Palatinate, and districts in France and Switzerland, ^{was} were the chief causes of the great emigration of Protestants from the continent of Europe to America. The devastation of the Palatinate began in 1664. In 1685, with the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, clouds again gathered around the Protestant cause. The wars of the League of Augsburg, from 1689 to 1697, and French rule in the conquered Rhine provinces, brought the Protestant population of this area no other alternative than to emigrate. During the opening years of the eighteenth century great numbers of these distressed German inhabitants removed to England. In the same years thousands of French Protestants themselves were driven from their homes,

(1) In 1709, several thousand came from the Palatinate. (Lecky, I. 191: O. 18th, II, 522.)

(1)
 many of whom sought an asylum in Britain. The majority of the French Protestants of this first migration remained in England; but the Germans nearly all removed to America. These were joined by a still larger stream that flowed directly from the Rhine, inconsiderable until 1727, but from that time until the revolution, continuing without break. It is estimated that between 1720 and 1750, ⁽²⁾ sixty thousand came to Pennsylvannia, which as a result became more than half German in population; and that in the years 1700 to 1775 about 100,000 came to America.

No single motive governed the exodus of the thousands of Germans that crossed the ocean in the middle of the eighteenth century. The ultimate cause was the troubled history of their homeland. In addition to war and religious intolerance, general misgovernment, congested conditions of living, changes in agricultural methods, the disbandment of soldiers, and crime, made up a variety of conditions which made life hard in the old ⁽³⁾ land, and made it appear to be much easier in the new. Great as was the desire to escape, the passage money necessary for the voyage to America was not always available. This poverty among the emigrants gave rise to a system of immigration agents who were called in Germany "Newlanders," men who formed companies and who

- (1) In 1700, London, which then had some 600,000 inhabitants, contained 32 French Protestant Churches. (Smiles, 'Huguenots in England', 278, quoted in Lecky I, 191).
 (2) 12,000 landed in America in 1749 alone. (Lecky, III, 282).
 (3) O. 18th, II, 483.

took advantage of their necessity to bring them out as indentured servants, and who were in the business purely for profit. The case of indentured servants was hard, Emigrants brought out in this way were driven through the country like cattle and sold as chattels to the highest bidder. Their labor was then pledged for a number of years. It was a type of slavery that was more common in Pennsylvannia and the southern colonies than in New England; and while they were still offered for sale in America as late as 1774, and while some Irish Catholics apparently arrived at Halifax in this condition, the Germans brought to Halifax between 1750 and 1752 by the British government were as far as can be ascertained "free-willers" and not "redemptioners," the term by which indentured immigrants were commonly known.

About the time of the Board of Trade's determination to settle Foreign Protestants in Nova Scotia, great interest was shown in the establishment of German settlements in New England. Samuel Waldo had planted a colony some years before at Waldoborough, on the coast of Maine east of the Kennebec River. The Kennebec Proprietors also brought out Germans, and between 1752 and 1753 granted no less than seven townships. What stimulated the Board to act at once was the action of

- (1) Mittelberger, G. 'Journal to Pennsylvannia', 1750.
- (2) O. 18th, 507.
- (3) O. 18th, III, 329; II, 511.
- (4) See advertisements of the company for settlers, Massachusetts Gazette and Weekly News Letter, June 9th, 1763.

Massachusetts, a colony that had hitherto been solidly opposed to the introduction of any foreign stock. In 1750 Massachusetts empowered its agent, Joseph Crellius, to secure Germans sufficient to settle four townships, two in Franklin county, Massachusetts, and two in Maine⁽¹⁾. The competition between the colonial governments and the great proprietary companies on this matter growing keen, the Board of Trade gave orders to their agents at Rotterdam, Dick and Kebler, to secure settlers of this class for Nova Scotia⁽²⁾. The same year four vessels sailed in company from that port; two for the Carolinas, and two for Halifax.

The desperate plight in which the majority of these immigrants reached Nova Scotia illustrates the heartlessness and the deception practised by the agents. Numbers were allowed to embark without the necessities of life and perished during the voyage. Many were old and unfit for the rigors of a back-settlement struggle for existence. On their arrival at Halifax they were disembarked on the isthmus between Bedford Basin and the Sandwich River, now

(1) 30 families arrived at Marblehead in the autumn of 1750. (Akagi; and N.S., A, 41, where Dick complains of Crellius in a letter to the Board of Trade.) 300 were brought in another cargo by Crellius in 1751, (Boston Evening Post, Sept. 25th). For further information on the German settlements in New England, see Thompson, "Germans in Maine" (Pennsylvannia- German, New Series I, 106, 107): Patten, 'Old Braintree and Quincy, 474-486: Faust, 'German elements in the United States', I, 260: Goold, 'Fort Halifax: its Projectors, Builders, and Garrison; (Maine Hist. Soc. Collections, 1st Series VIII, 213, foot-note); (Province Laws of Massachusetts, 1749-50, Chapter 225).

(2) The Proclamation published at Rotterdam and other towns in Germany in 1750 by "John Dick, merchant, and agent to receive applications from those desiring to settle in Nova Scotia", is printed in the proceedings of the R. S. C. 1911, II, 103.

called the North West Arm. They were housed and provisioned in some way and employed in building the forts. The Governor complained of the condition in which they arrived. It was due to his protests that the shipments were immediately stopped, and that no more came to the province.

A Huguenot emigration, both French and Swiss, accompanied the German from the Palatinate to America throughout the eighteenth century. The action of the Archbishop of Salzburg in 1732, and the renewal of persecution in France increased this toward the middle of the century. Some hundred of these, chiefly from the neighborhood of Montbeliard, joined the German emigrants to Halifax, and became a most valuable addition (1) to the Protestant population of the province.

It had not been the intention of the Board of Trade to settle the Foreign Protestants sent to Nova Scotia at Halifax. The original plan was to plant them among the Acadian settlements at Beaubassin in the hope that, mixed in this way, the alien population which Britain ruled in Nova Scotia might eventually become loyal. This plan was abandoned in favor ^{of} a settlement on the harbour of Merleguesh, some sixty miles to the southwest of Halifax. On June 1st, 1753, the great bulk of the Foreign Protestants were removed to that place. A few families

(1) The exact numbers of the Foreign Protestants brought to Halifax between 1750 and 1752 cannot be determined, nor the proportion among them of French and Swiss. In 1750, from 280 to 312 (according to different estimates) were brought by the "Anne." To July 13th, 1750, the total number is said to be 958. In July, 1751, 200 more arrived in the "Speedwell," 20 of whom were Swiss; and in 1752, 1,000 additional. The Montbeliard people were among the last to arrive. (For detailed information about the Foreign Protestants see N. S., A Series 43-55).

were left in the vicinity of Halifax; in the north suburb of the city, across the harbor at Dartmouth, and at the spot (1) where they had first landed, called from them 'Dutch Village.' The new settlement was given the name of Lunenburg. Great hardships were endured. Although the government allowance was (2) continued for some years, and the settlement was protected by a fort and soldiers, scarcely any growth took place for a long time. Several factors combined to retard its progress. A riot broke out among the colonists shortly after they had landed, confirming the suspicions of the Governor about the loyalty of some. The loyal Germans greatly outnumbered the disaffected, and the rebellion was quickly suppressed; yet many deserted to the

(1) These settlers were popularly called 'Dutch,' but few, if any, native Dutch emigrated.

(2) Aikins, T. B., 'Halifax City', 37.

NOTE:

What rights of citizenship were granted to the Foreign Protestants thus introduced into Nova Scotia has not so far been definitely determined. The Foreign Protestants who came to England during the reign of Queen Anne were granted letters of "denization";- letters patent from the monarch, which might be withdrawn, and in which the right of inheritance was limited. A law for the naturalization of Foreign Protestants in England was carried in 1709 and repealed in 1712. (O. 18th, II, 506; Lecky, I, 261); and throughout this period in England, the measure was opposed by the city of London, which feared trade rivalry, and by the Church of England 'which dreaded an accession to the forces of Dissent'. In the colonies under Royal or proprietary control theoretically no alien could hold or bequeath property (Proper, 'Colonial Immigration Laws', 14).

The colonies were not free to act in the matter of encouraging or restricting immigration. But in 1740 the British government passed its first laws granting naturalization papers to foreigners settled in the colonies (13 Geo. II. c.4; 14 Geo. II. c. 7; Acts of Privy Council, Cak. II, 348); and by an act in 1761 extended the privilege further. Very little legislation restricting

(1)

French. No persons joined the settlement with the exception of a few Acadian French from Louisbourg who took the oath of

(2)

allegiance. Murderous raids by the Indians were made on all who dared to live at any distance from the town. After some years the band of original settlers was further depleted by the removal of some of the Swiss and French Protestant families to

other parts of the province; ^{notably} noticeable to St. Margaret's Bay, Tatamagouche, and River John. In spite of these drawbacks, the

(3)

settlement held on, and after some thirty years it had spread over the neighboring islands and bays, and has left to the present day on that coast a rather remarkable and unusual legacy; a breed of sailors sprung from those who were originally an inland people set down by the shore of the sea, and whose

(4)

prowess has rarely been equalled in the story of Maritime nations.

1. Remarks on the Return of the Forces in N. S., 1755 (Misc. papers, Vol. 219, N. S. Archives; also a vol. of evidence at trial of ring-leaders). The doubts entertained by Cornwallis of the loyalty of the Germans determined him not to settle the Foreign Protestants at Beaubassin; and to urge the Board of Trade not to send out more.
2. Moreau to the S. P. G., Letter, 1755.
3. 1763, they numbered 300 families; (report to S. P. G., quoted by Vernon, C. W., 'Bicentenary Sketches and early days of the church in Nova Scotia').
4. MacMechan, A., "Canada and its Provinces", XIII, 85.

(continued:

immigration generally, was passed in Massachusetts and Connecticut, except with regard to impotent and infirm persons. (Province Laws, 1756-57, Ch. 47. Property and civil rights appear to have been granted the Foreign Protestants on their arrival in Nova Scotia, in accordance with the above regulations affecting Royal colonies; but when an Assembly was formed in Nova Scotia, the numbers of the Foreign Protestants allowed to vote was restricted to those who were members of the Church of England. (For further information on the question of the naturalization of Foreign Protestants in the colonies see Chalmers, Colonial Opinions, 333; Bear, Old Colonial System, I, 70).

The foregoing narrative of the extent of settlement at Halifax and at Lunenburg describes nearly all that was achieved in the way of Protestant settlement in Nova Scotia before the fall of Quebec in 1759. A number of out-settlements only remain to be mentioned. Dartmouth, across the harbor from Halifax, had been occupied in 1750, but was almost destroyed by an Indian attack in May of the next year. In 1755 it is reported as being (1) "a large picketed place"; but in 1762 (2) Out-settlements it contained only two resident families.

Lawrencetown, still further to the eastward, was granted in thousand acre lots to twenty Halifax families on June 10th, 1754. It was abandoned by the settlers (3) and by the soldiers kept to protect it on August 25th, 1757, because of the sterility of the soil and the danger of attack by Indians. A few fishermen were established in those early days at Herring Cove, Ketch Harbor, and Sambro. Apart from these places, and the main settlements at Halifax and Lunenburg, before the capture of Fort Beausejour and the expulsion of the Acadians the only points in the country occupied by the British were forts (4) (5) at Piziquid and Sackville, the summer fishing station at Canso, and Annapolis, now no longer the capital of the province. A (6) few traders visited Fort Cumberland after the country around had

1. 53 families are given in a list dated Halifax, July, 1752. (Piers, H. 'Selections, Public Documents of N. S.', 670).
2. Remarks on the Return of the Forces.
3. M. II, 329.
4. Fort Edward, later Windsor.
5. Fort Sackville, 12 miles from Halifax on the road to Fort Edward.
6. The name given to Beausejour by the English.

been cleared of the French troops and the Acadians. As the danger from these people diminished, several Halifax gentlemen, members of the council chiefly, obtained grants of the forfeited Acadian lands in the vicinity of Fort Edward, and these established a small English colony immediately on the fall of Quebec, composed of tenanted estates. (1)

A table of estimates of population at Halifax for the first ten years of its history reveals a period of marked depression. (2) This began at the very commencement of the settlement in the death of nearly one thousand within two years from plague. The decrease in population after 1753 was accentuated by the first exodus to the out-settlements and by the numbers slain by the Indians, and by the loss of some sixty additional who were captured though finally ransomed. The principal cause of the decline was the dissatisfaction felt with their position

(1) Among them were Major Samuel Starr and Hon. Benjamin Gerrish. (Haliburton, T. C. "History of Nova Scotia" II, 101).

(2) The following are contemporary estimates of the population of Halifax for the first twenty years:
 1750, Oct. 9th, "about 4000, besides soldiers "(Letter, Mr. Tutty to S. P. G.).
 1751, July 5th, "6,000" " " " "
 1752, "4248" (Mr. Breynton to S. P. G.)
 1755, "1300" " " " "
 1756, "2000" (Aikins, 'History of Halifax City')
 1763, "2500" (about); (Mr. Breynton.)
 1760, "3000" (about); (Letter; Hon. Alex Grant to Rev. Ezra Stiles, Boston).
 1767, "3022" (Frankin's Return.)
 1769, "5000" (Mr. Breynton; including garrison, French and out-settlements.)

Decline in population, and restricted government, financial assistance, correspond rather closely (N. S., A. vols. 34 et. seq.)

Halifax
to 1759

by the people from New England.

The harshness and the over-bearing attitude of the officers, in a settlement that was practically under martial rule, was particularly galling to them. This brought about a very distinct division within the settlement, and the removal of many of the New Englanders to their old homes, although a license was necessary to quit the town.⁽¹⁾ For some years people at Halifax that could afford it or obtain permission,⁽²⁾ were rapidly removing to the older colonies.⁽³⁾ But better days

- (1) The incident of Ephraim Cooke was an instance of this cleavage, as revealed in a letter of Governor Hopson to the Board of Trade;- "Almost from the beginning of the settlement there has been great jealousy and animosity between the settlers sent over from England and those who came here from different parts of America, and this I believe your Lordships may see some traces of in the present case." (N. S., A 52, 105).
- (2) "The Governor obliges every master of a vessel to enter into a bond under penalty of fifty pounds forfeiture for every person they carry away without license first obtained under his hand, and this is imposed without the least shadow of law or order of Council." (letter written from Halifax, 1750; P. A. of C.) The governor was Hopson, who did not enjoy Cornwallis' popularity. The regulation was really a provision made against the Irish Catholic servants, some of whom had been found in league with the enemy.
- (3) Two Pamphlets: "A Genuine Narrative of the Transactions in Nova Scotia, June 1749 - August 5th, 1751, addressed to the merchants of London", and "An Account of the present state of Nova Scotia in two letters to a noble lord, London, 1756" state that "most of the inhabitants are fled", and that "of the thousands of people that flocked here at the beginning of this settlement from the other colonies, there are hardly hundreds left." The cause of these disasters is given as "military tyranny", "too many Irish Catholics employed," "New England troops not given credit for their performance at Louisbourg and Beausejour." (P. A. of C.)

were at hand. Halifax has always enjoyed a revival of prosperity during a time of war. In 1756 broke out the great struggle between Britain and France which was to remove the last evidences of French power in Nova Scotia. Halifax became the rendezvous for the expeditions under General Wolfe against Louisbourg and Quebec. The city took on new life. The province was on the eve of its major settlement.

CHAPTER TWO

THE NEW ENGLAND SETTLEMENTS IN NOVA SCOTIA.

~~THE~~
IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE MIGRATION

The year of the fall of Quebec, 1759, saw the beginning of the most extensive migration to Nova Scotia to take place within the period here chosen for study. It came from New England, and was the most significant Protestant wave of settlement in the eighteenth century. 1760 and 1761 were

Importance and
extent of the Pre-
Loyalist movement.

the years at which the movement was at its height; but the stream continued to flow after 1762, with diminishing volume, until it died away in the depression which came over the province immediately before the out-break of the American war of Independence. As a result of this influx, more than half of the population of Nova Scotia was for many years of New England origin. All the settlements made in the course of this movement have persisted to the present time. One part of the province was chiefly affected. The New Englanders settled in the west, and this area is still dominated by their descendants. A line drawn from Truro to Halifax today distinguishes very clearly this territory from the eastern districts of Nova Scotia, which were settled in the nineteenth century, chiefly from the Highlands of Scotland. It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of such a contribution from the side of America in a period when the religious and governmental life of the province was being moulded. Another important

1. Census of 1767, Franklin's return, (R. S. C. 1911.).

movement to Nova Scotia from America followed the Revolutionary war, known as the "Loyalist" migration. The earlier wave may be termed the "Pre-Loyalist" migration⁽¹⁾. The two movements are often confused; the earlier one being forgotten and merged with the Loyalists. But the New Englanders who came to Nova Scotia in such numbers fifteen years before the war had a more powerful influence on provincial institutions, than the Loyalist invasion that followed, because it came in a formative period. It is very likely true that no single migration into any part of Canada affected the destiny of the country so powerfully or with such lasting results⁽²⁾.

New England in the eighteenth century was a country racially singularly compact. Its founders had been Englishmen alone. Immigration from the old country, begun in 1620, inconsiderable until 1630, had practically ceased ten years later. From that time "a people numbering some twenty thousand multiplied on their own soil in remarkable seclusion from other communities for nearly a century and a half"⁽³⁾. It was from this New England, containing a population that had grown by natural expansion within its own

Uniform Character
of the population
of New England.

bounds (with the addition of very small

groups of Scotch-Irish), that the exodus

to Nova Scotia took place. Recent German

settlements had indeed been made in Massachusetts and in Maine, but they were negligible and took no part in the movement.

1. In estimating the importance of the Pre-Loyalist movement, the articles of greatest help are the two by W. O. Raymond in the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada for 1911 and 1912, entitled "Colonel Alex. McNutt and the Pre-Loyalist Settlement of Nova Scotia"
2. Eaton, A.W.H., "Rhode Island Settlers on the French lands in N.S. 1760, 1761. "Americana, January, 1915.
3. Palfrey, J. G., "History of New England", Preface, vol. I.

Several factors throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries prevented the introduction of foreign elements into the population of New England, keeping the one main strain untainted. Osgood declares that the climate, soil, and religious intolerance could never have made that country an attractive region for immigrants from the continent of Europe. The separate colonies were themselves rigidly exclusive. In Massachusetts, where the legislature had full control and authorized the disposal of all unsettled lands, the coming of any who did not agree with her policy of ecclesiastical domination was discouraged.⁽¹⁾ Connecticut, a colony from which many settlers came to Nova Scotia during the period under survey, was the most uniform and compact in its structure and development of all the English colonies in America. It had a population practically of pure English descent.⁽²⁾ Its rigid ecclesiastical form of government was the chief reason for this exclusiveness. Rhode Island, the one colony in New England which enjoyed liberty in politics and religion, and from which large numbers emigrated to Nova Scotia, was the home of many sects; but the population until the Revolution was mainly of English descent.⁽³⁾ New Hampshire and Maine, in race, religion, and general character resembled Massachusetts, their mother colony.

1. Proper, E. P., "Colonial Immigration Laws", 12, 17, 19, 22. Records of Massachusetts Bay Colony, I 196. Massachusetts also excluded those whose personal effects were not sufficient. (Massachusetts Province Laws, 1700-01, Ch. 23; 1724, Ch. 8).
2. O. 18th III, 275. Report to Home Government, 1774, Colonial Records of Connecticut, III 298.
3. Burnaby, "Travels in North America, 1765"; Major Rogers, "Concise account of North America," 1765, 58, 59. Osgood III, 232.

These last two colonies contained the greater part of the foreign settlers that had been admitted to New England. In general, therefore, it may be said that the Pre-Loyalist settlers who came to Nova Scotia from New England were almost entirely of English stock.⁽¹⁾

The success of British arms in Nova Scotia in the war known to American historians as the Fourth French and Indian war, and in Europe as the Seven Year's War, made the movement from New England possible. The war was recognized at its commencement as the supreme struggle for colonial empire.

The New England emigration to Nova Scotia a direct result of the war.

Measures were taken at once by the British government, in cooperation with the

colonies, to drive the French from America. In 1755 a combined force of regulars and provincials captured Fort Beausejour, the French post on the Isthmus of Chignecto, at the entering-in of Nova Scotia. Governor Lawrence followed up this move with the total destruction of the Acadian settlements everywhere throughout the province, and with the expulsion of the greater part of their inhabitants. These events secured the peninsula of Nova Scotia to the British; and while the Acadians were not all immediately removed from the province, they were utterly dispossessed of their land. One half of the governor's plans for the Protestant settlement of Nova Scotia by these means were accomplished. The other half of his scheme was to be the granting of the forfeited

1. Burnaby: and Dexter, "Estimates of Population in the American Colonies", 50, give facts regarding the extent and character of the population of New England. In 1775, Massachusetts had a population of some 335,000. This was almost totally rural. The tide of migration to urban centres was only beginning. The population of the chief cities in 1765 is estimated in Burnaby as follows: Boston and Philadelphia 20,000; New York, 12,000; Providence, 8,000; Albany, 3,000.

Acadian lands to soldiers and settlers from New England.

The second part of Lawrence's plan could not be immediately achieved. Neither towards her own frontiers nor in the direction of Nova Scotia, in the opening years of war, did the population of New England expand. There had been a natural hesitation toward out-settlement while the struggle was imminent. While it raged, even tried and seasoned frontiersmen were unwilling to expose themselves until the outcome was assured. In Nova Scotia the menace from Indians hiding in the woods continued after the capture of Beausejour. The recruits enlisted in New England for the army that captured the fort had been promised land, but with a few (1) exceptions the offer went unheeded. The country was not safe any distance from a military post. Nine soldiers were shot at Bay Verte in the spring of 1755; a few months later five were (2) scalped in the vicinity of Fort Cumberland. Men were murdered within sight of Halifax; three vessels were captured by French and Indians off Canso; and a days march from Annapolis, at Bloody (3) Creek, a company of British Regulars were ambushed with great loss. As late as the spring of 1759, in the very month in which the first agents from New England were exploring the Acadian lands, a party of French and Indians threatened Fort (4) Edward; and a committee inspecting lands at Cape Sable were fired upon.

1. M. II, 315.
2. Trueman, H. 'Chignecto' 25, 26.
3. Knox, J., 'Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America' I, 39. ('Champlain Society Edition').
4. Huling, R. G., 'The Rhode Island Emigration to Nova Scotia' (Narragansett Historical Register, April, 1889).

But the news of the fall of Quebec brought all these skirmishes to an end. In 1758 Louisbourg had surrendered to Wolfe. Parties were sent immediately to drive the French troops and Acadian refugees from the River St. John and the Isle

Effect of
the fall of
Quebec: expansion
of New England.

St. Jean. The capture of Quebec the next year was the climax to these events.

Its effect was instantaneous. Actual

hostilities ceased in the country to the south of the St. Lawrence. Assurance was given by this event of the ultimate possession of Acadia by the British. Throughout the American colonies a fever for expansion was produced. The pent-up forces on the frontier were released; and the danger to settlement being removed, within a few months they flowed over the old line of settlement. In 1759 emigration from Massachusetts began to the remoter parts of Maine. In 1761 it was beginning to swarm in the direction of further Vermont. New settlements in great numbers sprang up in all the back districts of New England. (1) A little while sufficed to carry civilization over the larger part of Vermont, New Hampshire, (2) and much of Maine, along and west of the Penobscot. This expansive movement gave Governor Lawrence the means of carrying out the second part of his scheme, the occupation of the vacant Acadian lands with Protestant settlers from New England. Seen from the side of America, this was but part of the general expansion of New England.

Next in importance to the capture of Canada, and the schemes of

1. Mathews, L. K., 'Expansion of New England.'
2. Kidder, F., 'Eastern Maine and Nova Scotia,' 35.

Governor Lawrence, another immediate cause was the definite action of New Englanders already established at Halifax in

Representative
Government

winning from the Governor, at this crucial time, that Representative

government which above all else went to make Nova Scotia a desirable place of residence in the eyes of New Englanders. The number of New England merchants resident at Halifax was large. They had been influential from the beginning. They were the victuallers of both the civil and military population. They supported the governor in his decision to drive out the Acadians. They had attempted to introduce into the province a system of legal procedure like that of New England. They now, at the moment when the Governor's plans for the introduction of New Englanders into Nova Scotia were about to mature, secured from the Home Government the promise of an Assembly.

Proposals for the establishment of an English speaking and Protestant population in Nova Scotia, made continuously for over half a century, were at last about to bear fruit in the active measures directed by Governor Lawrence. He had been foremost in carrying out the expulsion of the Acadians; and the removal of the French population was but a step toward the introduction of Protestant settlers. Lawrence did not press the offer of land upon regular soldiers, or levies from New England, numbers of whom

1. The Government engineer employed by Lawrence was Charles Morris. His survey of the province took several years. He supplied many of the particulars of the plans for settlement. (Brebner, 223).
2. Letters: Lawrence to Col. Monckton, Aug. 8th, 1755; to the Board of Trade, Oct. 18th, 1755.



were being disbanded. He recognized that soldiers did not make the best type of settlers. His eye was upon the resident farmer and fishermen classes of Massachusetts and the neighboring colonies. In his plans Lawrence was supported by Governor Shirley (1) of Massachusetts, and by New England members on the Council (2) of Halifax. But Governor Lawrence refused to consider the formation of an Assembly. Governor Shirley and the New England merchants resident at Halifax knew well that the people of New England, while ready in other respects to go to Nova Scotia, would not come in the absence of the civil liberties and institutions to which they were accustomed at home. Pressure was brought to bear on Lawrence when his autocratic attitude on this point threatened to ruin the plans for settlement. He remained adamant until on the continued protests of New Englanders resident at Halifax instructions were sent him from the Board (3) of Trade ordering the immediate calling of an Assembly. At the ^{same} time his own advertisements appeared in the Boston papers (4) calling for settlers; but meeting with no response, (as foreseen by those who agitated for representative government), Lawrence (5) was therefore compelled to agree to the demand. Orders were

1. Shirley proposed the plan for the civil government of Nova Scotia, at the request of Newcastle. (Lincoln, 'Shirley Correspondence' I. 470-471.) O. 18th III, 572.
2. Benjamin Green, New England merchant resident at Halifax, and member of the Council, visited Shirley on this matter in Jan. 1758.
3. Letters: from Whitehall to Lawrence, Mar. 10th, 1757; Feb. 7, 1758.
4. Authorized on October 2, and appeared in the Gazette Nov. 6, 1758.
5. 186 merchants of Halifax applied for an Assembly and raised a subscription to send an agent to London (Martin, C., 'Empire and Commonwealth' 69). The demand for an Assembly is fully treated in Brebner, 240-270.

published summoning the first Assembly in Nova Scotia, of twenty-two members, for October 2nd, 1758. On January 11th, 1759, Lawrence published in the Boston Gazette his second (1) proclamation. It contained a re-statement of the lands available, and guaranteed government help for those intending (2) to settle, promises of religious freedom to all Protestants, and of Representative government. These last measures were won, therefore, for Nova Scotia, by New Englanders; and the proclamation in which they were embodied has been aptly called "The Charter of Nova Scotia."

The response was now immediate. Throughout New England, and especially in its south-eastern parts, this second proclamation of Governor Lawrence with its eagerly awaited guarantee was received with great interest. Old soldiers of the French wars and those who had seen service recently at Louisbourg and at Beausejour, and who had themselves been agents

The Movement
made chiefly by
means of free
associations.

received with great interest. Old soldiers of the French wars and those who had seen service recently at

1. Printed by Raymond, R. S. C., 1911, II, 105, 106.
2. How much aid was actually supplied to the settlers who came in response to this invitation is difficult to determine. From Belcher's letter to the Board of Trade, and from the Grant Books to be seen in the Crown Lands Office at Halifax, it appears that in some cases the transportation from New England was provided by the Nova Scotia government. An Order-in-Council directed Captain Cobb of the Sloop 'York' to bring the first New England settlers to Truro (Boston Gazette, April 27, 1761). Captain John Dogget was also required to bring 20 families in a government vessel in May 1761, to a point on the south shore. But in a letter to the Board of Trade (Dec. 12th, 1760) Belcher declares that the government is not engaged to give free transportation to any of the New England grantees, except to those settling the townships of Horton, Cornwallis, and Falmouth. Many of the settlers, however, were helped with seed corn (Letter; Lawrence to Board of Trade, Dec. 10th, 1759, stating that £1500 was being so expended).

in expelling the Acadians, confirmed by word of mouth the description of the lands made in the proclamation. The intending settlers, for the most part, began to form free associations for the purpose of removal and to petition for blocks of land. Many (1) were induced to emigrate by professional colonizers. Among the men who played a more conspicuous part in carrying out the (2) settlement as a speculation was John Hancock, richest and most influential of the Boston merchants. He had supplied for many years the garrison at Halifax, and had lately submitted several propositions to Governor Lawrence regarding the settlement of the new townships. Colonel Alexander McNutt was another prominent figure. But the movement as a whole appears to have been an independant and voluntary emigration from the towns and

1. Messrs. DeLancy and Watts of New York also published a statement that they were agents for the Nova Scotia Government, and that proposals for settlement would be received by them. (Eaton, A. W. H., Americana, 1915.)
2. Letters of John Hancock 1760, 1761, Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, Vol. 43, 196.

(1)

villages of New England. The members of the free associations agreed to share equally in the benefits of the scheme. These groups were composed as a rule of families from the same neighborhood "who combined to move, along with their ~~household~~ effects, in vessels hired for the purpose, to the large tracts or townships specially laid out and granted to them."

Great opposition was shown to these plans for the emigration of so many of their tenants by the landlords, who formed a very exclusive class in New England. This opposition increased when land values in the older townships of New England declined as a result of the general extension of the frontier and the threatening exodus to Nova Scotia. Thus the emigrants had to overcome many local difficulties in leaving their old homes. There was first the expense of removal, only partially, and in some cases not at all, borne by the Nova Scotia government; there was the opposition

1. Free associations had been the familiar means by which new settlements were made in New England from the beginning of its history. Plymouth was settled a colony "by social compact". In Rhode Island Connecticut, New Hampshire, and elsewhere, the Puritan settlers "finding themselves without legal rights on vacant lands, signed compacts of government, or plantation covenants, agreeing to submit to the common will" (Turner, F. J. 'Western State-making' American Historical Review, 72). Details of such an agreement had little in common with those of the associations formed to settle Nova Scotia, where lands were received as the gift of a royal government; but the principal of banding together to share wilderness lands remained the same. In Connecticut, in 1727, unoccupied western territories were laid out in townships, divided into rights with one lot in each town reserved for the church and one as a gratuity to the first resident minister, and one for the support of the town school; the remaining rights being sold to the highest bidders. Purchasers must be residents of the colony of Connecticut and in three years they must clear and fence at least six acres of land and build and finish a house of specified dimensions (Osgood, III, 283, quoting Connecticut Colonial Records VIII, 135, 334, 392, 421). Conditions similar to these were inserted into the grants in Nova Scotia made to the Free Associations of New Englanders, although the requirements not so stringent.

of friends; the difficulty of disposing of real estate at long credit; and lastly, for those who were tenants, the hostility of the landlords. Many of these had real power. Some of the principal proprietors in New England endeavored to prevent the departure of their people "by contriving to force them into levies (1) that were making for the public service."

The settlers preparing to come to Nova Scotia were of two kinds; farmers by profession, attracted by the rich dyke lands vacant at Annapolis, Minas, Cobequid, or Chignecto; and fishermen, (2) seeking homes along the south shore. Thus two distinct types of

*Farmers and
fishermen.*

settlements arose in Nova Scotia.

Those who asked for land along the

Annapolis and St. John Rivers and

about the headwaters of the Bay of Fundy, were farmers from Connecticut, Rhode Island, and the interior hill districts of (2) Massachusetts. The chief economic reason for their emigration was the offer of the fertile dyke lands that had been cultivated by the Acadians, and which were to be given away. Minor factors which determined their special location in Nova Scotia were, first of all, the position of the best lands, then accessibility, lines

1. Haliburton, T. C., 'History of N. S. ' I, 236.

2. The removal of the fishermen is referred to in New England local histories as follows: Macy, I. 'History of Nantucket; 66; Caulkins 'History of New London', 479; Freeman, 'History of Cape Cod' I, 412; and Greene, 'History of the State of Rhode Island and the Providence Plantations,' II, 233, which notes that about one hundred came from Newport alone.

For a complete list of the inland towns of Massachusetts and Connecticut from which persons emigrated, see Eaton, A. W. H., 'The Nova Scotia Eatons', 7-13.

of communication, and nearness to trading centres and out-lets for
 (1) lumber trade. Positions of natural charm, location of water-powers, and of mineral resources, were also inducements to choose certain localities. Those who formed the south shore settlements were the fishermen. They were preparing to remove from coast towns of Massachusetts, principally from those in the vicinity of Cape Cod. The chief economic reason that led to the removal of this class was that the south shore of Nova Scotia lay four hundred miles nearer to the grand banks than the coast of Massachusetts. Losses suffered in the late war induced the establishment of new fishing stations. French privateers had captured many Nantucket and Cape Cod whalers and fishing schooners. Fishermen had been impressed into the naval service on board British ships of war. Recollection of these years of hardship made a change of scene desirable to some; especially as security from any further impressment was contained in the proclamation of Governor Lawrence. The factors that determined the location of each group of the fishermen were, first of all, the character of the harbor and the proximity^{of} inshore fishing grounds.

In general, there was the greatest interest displayed throughout New England, as the various agents appointed by the Associations visited the proposed sites of settlement in Nova Scotia, and then returned with their reports. The eyes of the

Interest aroused
 by visit of agents
 in 1759.

people had been fixed on that country
 (2)
 for a century, at first with a desire
 to stamp out the French colony that was

1. Ganong, 'Settlement of New Brunswick.'
2. Martin, 65.

a base for combined French and Indian raids on the out-settlements of New England; and laterly with the hope that it might be thrown open to settlement by themselves. New Englanders were a maritime people anxious to live not far from the sea, which was for them the chief support of life, in its fisheries and in the communications it afforded for trade. Nova Scotia was, therefore, an area that attracted them greatly, surrounded as it was by the sea and possessing so many excellent harbors. In the spring of 1759 some trading vessels made their way up the Bay of Fundy to the mouth of the River St. John. These were followed in early summer by a party of agents from Connecticut who visited the headwaters of the Bay and found the hay blowing on the wide marshes, and around the blackened foundations of former Acadian homesteads, orchard trees in full bloom. No attempt at permanent settlement was made. Human and natural causes prevented the arrival of families until next year. French and Indians still sulked in the woods. In November of 1759 a great gale swept the province. The damage it occasioned to shipping changed the minds of any who had planned to sail to Nova Scotia that fall.

1. Major Robert Dennison, Jonah Harris, James Otis, and James Fuller all of Connecticut; and John Hicks, of Rhode Island, representing 330 settlers. M. II, 364, gives a list of the other agents.

2. These showed some opposition until gradually the news of the fall of Quebec reached them. After that the attitude of those that remained in the country counted little in determining where the newcomers should plant their homes. Both Indians and Acadian French being powerless to interfere, became sullenly submissive to British rule. Where the latter were still in the way they were simply removed. In a year or two when the government was no longer compelled to take measures to repress them, the condition of these poor refugees improved. By a treaty, June 25th, 1761, the new settlers were secured from any further danger from the Micmacs.

The storm left its mark upon the forest for years, especially along the south coast where the trees were levelled; and at the head of the Bay of Fundy, where the tide rose ten feet higher than usual, breaking down the Acadian dykes, and ~~brought~~^{ing} about the loss of one, or perhaps two, harvests.

CHAPTER III

THE FREE ASSOCIATIONS OF FISHERMEN AND FARMERS

1. The Fishermen

Settlement from New England along the south shore of Nova Scotia began in May and June of 1760.

The Fishermen. In that year six fishing vessels with fifty to seventy families arrived at Liverpool. The first meeting of town proprietors is recorded as taking place there on July 1st, 1760. At a point on Mahone Bay, called Chester, some sixty-five families are said to have landed in the late summer of 1759, having sailed from Boston.⁽¹⁾ It is more likely that, if these were permanent arrivals, they came in 1760;⁽²⁾ for, as far as can be ascertained, those who visited the south shore of Nova Scotia in 1759 came only to search for suitable sites.⁽³⁾ The eyes of these adventurers beheld a wilderness scene, although the country had been visited many times before by earlier voyagers. The south shore of Nova Scotia was the earliest known part of the coast of North America. Since the voyage of Champlain, and even before him, fishermen and traders had been familiar with its fine harbors, dangerous headlands, and numerous islands. Actual settlements during the French regime were confined to Cape Sable and LaHave. Acadians

1. Secombe's Diary, N. S. Arch.
2. Morris' Report, 1763, gives 30 families at Chester.
3. In 1759, a warrant of survey was issued to John Dogget, Elisha Freeman, Samuel Dogget, and others, for a settlement at Liverpool.

were known to have resided temporarily only at one or two other points. Thus when the New Englanders came the shore presented its rough face, shrouded in fog and clothed with forest, much as it had done when first sighted by the earliest French voyageurs. The barren and rocky character of the shore did not deter the New England fishermen. They had sailed from Massachusetts harbors on their annual spring voyage to the banks. At the spot chosen for settlement in the previous year they called to land their families, household effects, and wooden frames of houses. These were brought from New England in the empty holds of their vessels, and a few men were left on shore to erect them. The remainder continued their voyage to the banks.

Settlement at Yarmouth and Barrington began in 1761. The former place in its first years was known as 'the settlement at Cape Fourchu and Chebogue.' Grants of land had been made both there and at Barrington in 1759 and 1760. ⁽¹⁾ These for some reason were not occupied. On June 9th, 1761, three families from Sandwich, Cape Cod, built homes for themselves at Cape Fourchu. They were followed by seven other families who are said to have returned to New England the same fall. The first of the eighty families from Nantucket and Cape Cod to arrive at Barrington in ⁽²⁾ the three years, 1761 to 1763, came during this same summer.

1. September 1st, 1759, first grant, to 133 grantees. January 8th, 1760, second grant. 'Brown, S. G. 'History of Yarmouth'; Campbell, J. R., 'History of Yarmouth', 32)

2. Crowell, E., 'Barrington Township', 85.
Haliburton, II, 188

Twenty additional families joined the original settlers at
 (1)
 Liverpool. These are all the arrivals coming to the south
 shore of Nova Scotia that can be traced for the year 1761.

The next year the immigration of New England fishermen to the townships already established gathered strength and at the same time spread to out-settlements. A return to the government of the province made on July 1st, 1762, shows one hundred and forty-two persons from Nantucket and Plymouth, resident at Barrington. A colony of Quakers from the whaling towns of New England established themselves at 'the Hill' at Barrington and also began a settlement on Cape Sable Island. While these new settlements were made this year directly from New England, many families had begun to remove from the limits of the first settlement at Barrington and at Liverpool to islands and lonely harbors further away where the shore fishing was better, and firewood more easily obtained. In this way a fishery was established at Green Harbor, on the Ragged Islands, at Port Mouton, and at the old Acadian site of Port La Tour. Similarly, the first houses came to be built out from Liverpool at Brooklyn, Port Medway, Mill Village, and the Falls; and from Chebogue and Cape Fourchu settlements were made at Tusket and Argyle. By 1763 the south shore townships enumerated above had received the principal accessions to their populations. After that date ensued a long period of arrested development, followed by a decline in the number of residents in the years immediately before

and during the American Revolution.

Additional facts in the growth of the south shore townships may be summarized as follows:

Liverpool: 1759, Captain Cobb of Liverpool conducted a party of agents to Cape Sable. He must therefore be considered a resident then. 1761, Col. Morris' Report gives no. of families resident as 50. 1761, Oct. 9th an additional Report gives 100 families. 1767, Letter to the S. P. G. from Lt. Gov. Franklin gives the population of Liverpool at "700 souls."

Yarmouth;(Cape Fourchu and Chebogue): Chebogue, the centre of population, contains 15 to 20 families (Campbell, 45) 1764, Crawley's Return, gives the total in Yarmouth district as 246 persons: at Argyle, some 16 families. The following extract, (Brown, 160) gives the exact number of arrivals for a period of years, the later entries indicating the decline in immigration experienced by all the south shore settlements after 1766: 1764, 8; 1756, 11; 1766, 15; 1769, 3; 1770, 5; 1771, 2; 1773, 3; 1774, 3; (all these persons, with three exceptions, were from Massachusetts.)

Barrington 1763, a local return reports 50 families resident. 1764 Feb. 3rd, first proprietors meeting. 1767, township formally granted to 102 persons. 1770, return, January 1st, 386 persons, all American by birth and all Protestant (Crowell, 162.)

II. The Farmers.

While the settlement of the south shore of Nova Scotia by fishermen proceeded, the parallel
 The farmers
 or
 Planters
 emigration of farmers from the
 agricultural districts of New England
 took place to the fertile dykelands and river intervals bordering the Bay of Fundy. These farmers have generally been called in Nova Scotian history the 'New England Planters.' As in the case of the south shore settlements, permanent arrivals were preceded by exploring parties. In addition to those agents previously mentioned twenty prospective settlers landed in 1759 near the place afterwards known as Truro. They remained all summer, returning to New England at the approach of autumn.

A number of grants of land were made to the New England
 (1)
 Associations in the later months of 1759, but no permanent settlement can be traced to that year. The first 'Planters' were those who came in May and June of 1760 to the regions about Minas Basin, to Annapolis, and to the furthest limits

1. The number of grantees specified in each of the grants issued to the free associations of New Englanders by the government of Nova Scotia, is of no value in determining the actual numbers of the settlers who came. In many cases those whose names are on the lists never left New England. The "A" series of papers in the Dominion Archives are not of much value, either, in tracing the progress of the settlement; for these papers have preserved plans for settlement rather than actual results. It is only possible to arrive at the probable number of immigrants through a study of local records as carried out by county and township historians. The following grants were authorized in 1759: John Hicks and Amos Fuller, for 50 grantees, at Piziquid; at Truro, July 26th, Scott and Knowlton, for 52 grantees; Oct. 18th Timothy Houghton, Keyes, and others for 53 grantees, at Truro and Onslow; Oct. 18th Jos. Twitchell and Church, for 50 grantees, Truro. (For these Truro and Onslow grants see Longworth, I, N.S.H.S. IX 39, and Eaton, 'Colchester Co.' R.S.C. 1912, II, 221) Various Horton and Cornwallis grants passed the seal of the province in 1759.

of Cobequid Bay, where they formed the earliest settlements at Truro and Onslow. The farming communities fell into five groups.

1. Minas Basin Settlements: a. Newport, Falmouth, Windsor.

The sloop "Lydia" from Rhode Island, in May 1760, with twenty-three settlers brought the first New England contingent to Minas Basin. Later arrivals the same month added rapidly to the number; and out of these grew the settlements of East and West Falmouth, which lay on opposite sides of the Piziquid or Windsor River. The name of the township East Falmouth was changed in 1761 to Newport. The first proprietors meeting was held there on June 9th, 1760, and at West Falmouth on June 10th. These two settlements grew steadily from their foundation. Adjacent to them there was established on December 24th, 1764 the township of Windsor. While numbers from New England obtained grants within its bounds, its character differed from the settlements formed by the New England associations. Seven members of the Council at Halifax had received there one thousand acres each on August 28th, 1759. These tenanted estates, lying within the bounds of the new township, greatly overshadowed the holdings of the most prosperous of the New England farmers. A further difference in the population of Windsor arose when the remaining land was distributed to men prominent in the military service of
(1)
the province.

1. Additional facts in the growth of the population at Windsor, Falmouth and Newport: 35 families came to Falmouth in May, 1760, in the sloop "Sally"; (all search has failed to bring to light other lists that must have existed). A return to the government, Jan. 9th, 1762, by Charles Morris shows 80 families at Falmouth and 60 at Newport. Mr. Bennett, missionary, in a report to the S. P. G. Jan. 4th, 1763, makes the following estimate of the population of this area:- Horton, 670; Cornwallis, 518; Falmouth, 278; Newport, 251.

2. Minas Basin Settlements: b. Horton and Cornwallis

The settlement of Horton and Cornwallis took place at one step with the arrival of over twenty vessels from Connecticut⁽¹⁾ in June, 1760.

3. Annapolis and Granville.

Vessels arrived at Annapolis from New England in May, 1760, The first to be definitely recorded, however, is the "Charming Molly" which brought forty-five settlers on June 25th. A small population, of New England origin, already existed at the Fort. The newcomers increased the settlement until it spread the same⁽²⁾ year across the river to a point opposite the Fort named Granville.

4. The Chignecto Settlements: Sackville and Amherst.

The general emigration of farmers from New England attained its maximum volume in 1761. Throughout this year vessels continued to sail up the Bay of Fundy adding families to the settlements

1. Additional facts in the growth of the population at Horton and Cornwallis:- 6 transports under the command of Capt. Rogers, from New London, to Horton, are referred to by Murdoch (II, 387); and are perhaps part of the fleet noted above. Governor Lawrence reported, on May 11th, 1760, the arrival of 40 families at the Basin Settlements, without discriminating which. This statement is repeated by Jacob Bailey, C. of E. missionary, in a letter to the S.P.G. May 4th, 1780. Quoted also by Sawtelle, W.O. 'Acadia; the Pre-Loyalist Migration' (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1926.)

2. Additional facts in the growth of the population at Annapolis and Granville :- 1763, Annapolis and Granville are said to have 110 families; 1764, resident at Annapolis, 158 families (Haliburton); 1764, at Annapolis and Granville, 800 adults and children (Wood, C. of E. missionary, letter to S.P.G.) 1767, Franklin's Return gives Granville 383 persons, nearly all of American birth, and Annapolis, 445. 1770 census shows a falling off of 17% in the general population and in those of American birth, 54%. Some at this time removed to the neighboring township of Wilmot, and further to the westward, into what later became the township of Digby. (Wilson, I, 'History of Digby County').

described in the preceeding sections. A fourth group of settlements was now formed. Twenty-five families from Rhode Island settled at Sackville, on the isthmus of Chignecto. They were joined by thirteen families from Swansea, Massachusetts, all Baptists, who removed together with their pastor, and provided the only instance in the whole New England movement to Nova Scotia of a definite group emigrating under religious leadership and bound by religious ties. In this year, also, (1) twenty began the settlement of Amherst.

5. The St. John River Settlements : Mougerville.

Massachusetts farmers from Essex county came in 1761 to the remote area that held the fifth group. It included Mougerville and Sheffield. These places are described in a contemporary document as being "on the extreme frontier of Nova Scotia, two hundred miles from the nearest settlement." (2) They were situated on the St. John River, a hundred miles or so above its mouth, where Indian villages had existed in earlier times, and where there had been a French post named Jemseg. These regions now became the scene of

1. Additional facts in the growth of the population at Sackville, and Amherst:- 1762, July 20th, first town meeting at Sackville. 1763 population of Sackville 20 families. (Milner, W. C. 'Isthmus of Chignecto'). 1765, March 6th, population of Sackville, 80 families. Amherst, Sackville, and Cumberland townships were erected in 1763. In that year Cumberland Township was stated to hold 35 families. This may refer to the Amherst settlement. There has been much confusion in the use of the three names. The whole district later became Cumberland County.

2. Letter to Governor Ellis, November 13th, 1762. (Quoted in Raymond, W. O. 'River St. John,' 83).

fresh activities when the Essex county families arrived led by a young surveyor. In June 1762 parties in Halifax attempted to dispossess them of their land, as no formal grant had been given them. The settlers were able to retain their lands through the influence of Joshua Mauger, of Halifax, and in recognition of this service the township was given the name
 (1)
 of Maugerville. In 1762 a trading post was established by New England merchants at the mouth of the St. John at Portland
 (2)
 Point. This was the beginning of the city of St. John and continued to be the centre of the Indian trade on the St. John river for many years, besides being the only source from which the
 (3)
 Maugerville settlers drew their supplies.

1. Additional facts in the growth of the population at Maugerville and Sheffield:- after 1763 land was granted to some provincial officers and soldiers on other reaches of the St. John; but prior to the coming of the Loyalists only two other grants were made at Maugerville, one in 1770, and one early in 1773. By Franklin's Return, 1767, Maugerville and Sheffield had a population of 261. In 1783, the older English-speaking inhabitants in the whole area did not number over 1000.

2. An advertisement appeared in the Boston Gazette and News Letter calling upon "all the signers under Captain Francis Peabody for a township at St. John's River in Nova Scotia to meet at the house of Daniel Ingalls, innholder, in Andover, Wednesday, October 6th at 10 a. m. to draw lots."

3. Additional facts in the growth of the population at Portland Point
 The first of Captain Peabody's party arrived at the Point on August 28th, 1762. In 1764, April 16th, James Symonds, James White, Jonathan Levitt, and 30 hands came; and Blodgett, of Hagan and Blodgett, Newbury Port and Boston, in 1766. (For additions made to the trading colony at the Point from time to time, see 'Account Book of Portland Point' especially the entry for January 15th, 1765).

CHAPTER IV.

THE ULSTER MIGRATION

In the settlement of Nova Scotia before 1759, professional colonizers played no part, in spite of the number of schemes put forward by private individuals in the first years of the century. Halifax and Lunenburg had been established by the British Government through its own agents; while the main movement from New England to Nova Scotia, in 1760 and 1761, proceeded largely by means of free and independant associations, formed along lines customary in New England. Truro, Onslow and Londonderry at the head of the
 Truro, Onslow,
 Londonderry:
 a mixed group.
 Cobequid Bay form a group of settlements
 of the farmer class, yet to be described.

It falls within the compass of the New England migration, yet differs in origin and character from the five groups just mentioned. It consisted mainly of Scotch-Irish both from New Hampshire and from Ulster, and was in a large degree due to a single person, a professional colonizer, and ^{to} his romantic schemes, Alexander McNutt.

This was the only occasion in which Ulstermen settled in Nova Scotia in a body of any size. The first of them, and the largest numbers of them, came to Nova Scotia by way of New Hampshire. To understand why they came it is necessary to refer to the general movement from the North of Ireland to America, its causes and its extent; for the New Hampshire and the Nova Scotia settlements are but an episode in the story of the larger migration.

(1)
 Ulstermen came to America as early as 1636. The principal

1. Cotton Mather himself welcomed the first who came to new England. He had been at Belfast in his interest in founding a college in New England.

emigration, however, which determined the character of many of the frontier settlements in the middle colonies did not begin

General Ulster
migration to
America.

until 1714. The majority went to

Pennsylvania. This colony therefore

became the centre of the Presbyterian settlements in the New World. Parts of the Carolinas also became predominately Scotch-Irish. In 1718 ports, such as Philadelphia, Charleston, and Newcastle, were reported to be swarming with these immigrants. One of the thirteen British colonies in America was the result of this immigration when William Penn and eleven others purchased East Jersey, to secure (1) the settlers. Few came to New England in comparison with the many which poured into the middle and southern colonies. (2) In New England, the advent of the Scotch-Irish is an incident in the life of the general population; in the south they set the tone and character of frontier life and made history in the Revolutionary War.

Various causes drove these Ulstermen to seek homes in America, but all may be traced to oppression and even persecution on the part of the English Parliament and the Established Church.

Causes of the
emigration.

The causes were both economic and religious. Prohibitory discrimination against the trade and manufactures of Ulster in

1. Princeton University is a monument to their intellectual capacity.

2. A writer in the Gentlemen's Magazine for 1774 showing how strongly the tide of emigration flowed from the north of Ireland to America. From 1769-1774, no less than 43,720 sailed from the five ports, Londonderry, Belfast, Newry, Larne, and Portrush. (Johnston, S. C. 'A History of Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America, 1763-1912').

favor of those of England, a system of oppressive landlordism, the greatly increased rents on farm lands after 1718, and the removal from Ireland of all manufacture except a partially tolerated
(1) linen industry, were the principal economic reasons; while persecution by the Bishops, and the enforced payment of tithes to the Anglican clergy, were the chief religious ones. A law excluding Presbyterians from all offices under the crown, civil and military, was not repealed until 1779. Presbyterian marriages were not declared legal until 1782. Hence these restrictions on industry and these discouraging conditions in their church life drove them to America, the majority to the southern colonies, but many to make new homes in New Hampshire, some of whose descendants removed to Nova Scotia.

The New Hampshire Ulster settlements originated in the groups
(2) of Scotch-Irish that arrived at Boston in 1718. From five to six
(3) hundred are said to have arrived in July and August of that year.

1. O. 18th II, 516.

2. In 1718 alone 6,800 are said to have arrived at Boston. A great part were absorbed by the new companies formed to settle lands in Maine, Capt. Robert Temple, one of the proprietors of the Pejepscot Co., had by 1720 brought over 100 Scotch-Irish settlers to the Kennebec and Androscoggin sections. These founded Cork, Topsham, Bath, and Brunswick. The Indian war of 1722 drove many of them away. Captain Dunbar and Samuel Waldo also settled Scotch-Irish east of the Kennebec. Dunbar's settlement was made in 1730 at Pemaquid. Warren was founded by the Scotch-Irish brought by Waldo in 1735; and the lower town of St. Georges, in 1742. Other points on the coast of Maine where Scotch-Irish settlers were to be found were Casco Bay, and Falmouth (later Portsmouth). The more eastern settlements, adjacent to the German settlements, helped to confirm the hold of Great Britain on the territory between the Kennebec and the Penobscot. After the French and Indian war (1760) the great proprietary companies were very active in the settlement of their territories, notably the Kennebec Purchase Proprietors, the Pejepscot Proprietors, and the Lincolnshire Company. (Akagi, 244, 245, 248: O. 18th II, 519; Williamson, 'Hist. of Maine' II, 507: Bolton, 'Scotch Irish Pioneers', 140).

3. Boston News Letter, July 21-28, 1718.

Some of these settled in the Merrimac Valley at Westchester;

Ulster Settle-
ments in New
England.

others founded Nutfield, incorporated in

June 1722, as the township of Londonderry,
(1)

New Hampshire. On the conclusion of

the French and Indian war in 1759, the Ulstermen in New England joined in the general movement of expansion beyond the old frontiers. Even before the close of the war some Ulstermen had left the first homes they had built and had located in the heart of the Indian country in the Mohawk Valley. In 1767 there was a movement beyond the settlement line to found Ackworth in 1766, and Antrim and Deering, in 1767. The most important was the emigration from Londonderry, New Hampshire, to Nova Scotia,
(2)
brought about by the activities of Colonel Alexander McNutt.

McNutt, who appears to have arrived in America from Ulster about the year 1750, was living among his compatriots at Londonderry, New Hampshire, in 1758. His own statements, preserved in

Colonel
Alexander
McNutt

memorials to the Board of Trade, represented nearly all the material discoverable about him. His excessive claims have,

in the case of some historians, prevented a sober estimate of the extent of the New England migration. According to his own statements, he took the leading part in engineering the whole movement of New Englanders to Nova Scotia. He declares that he had served at Louisbourg; that he had raised a company of three hundred provincial troops to relieve the troops to be sent to
(3)
Quebec, and that he himself was the chief agent in arousing the

1. Parker, E. L. 'History of Londonderry' N.S. 50.
2. Parker, 98, 200.
3. Memorial to Board of Trade, January 19th, 1763.

interest of the New Englanders in the vacant lands of Nova Scotia. According to his own representations, Governor Lawrence acted upon his advice when he issued the second proclamation;⁽¹⁾ he further states that his suggestions to use intending settlers⁽²⁾ as troops in Nova Scotia won the favor of Governor Pownall; and in a memorial to the Board of Trade in 1763 he claims that after the settlement of Nova Scotia from New England had begun, he had endeavored to induce Quakers and Germans from Pennsylvania to come to Nova Scotia; that he had procured in 1760 one thousand families from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Virginia; that altogether, he had already introduced two thousand families; and that he had contracts out for sixteen thousand more persons. These claims, where they can be checked, are proven to be extravagant. Many of the families which he declares to be in Nova Scotia could never have come, for there is no record of their arrival. The part that he actually played in the formation of the New England settlements in Nova Scotia seems to have been as follows: The numbers which he quoted in his letters to the British Government may simply mean the signatures of those willing to go, which, as agent for Hancock or other firms, he had secured. In this way it is possible that he may have canvassed the greater part of New England. He seems to have directed the removal of the settlers who left Essex County, in Massachusetts, and who settled at Maudersville on the St. John River.

1. Raymond, W. O., 'McNutt and the Pre-Loyalist Settlement of Nova Scotia', (R. S. C. 1912, II, 201). This article is the source of much of the information given above.

2. Letter of General Amherst to Governor Lawrence, April 17th, 1760 (Quoted in Raymond, op. cit.).

He certainly secured the confidence of the Home Government at the beginning of his schemes, for the Board of Trade reported favorably on them. Immense tracts of land in all parts of Nova Scotia were granted him. In 1764 one hundred thousand acres were reserved for him at Port Roseway, where the town of Shelburne⁽¹⁾ was later built. Some families of New Englanders were living there before the Loyalists came. They had probably⁽²⁾ been placed there by McNutt. There is no further evidence of his interest or assistance in the planting of the other south shore settlements. McNutt found the authorities at Halifax for the most part hostile. They either suspected his intentions, or had their own ends to serve. In 1766 he complained to the Board of Trade that 'Belcher and Co.' placed obstructions in the way of his colonization enterprises. In reply to this complaint a committee stated that, in the general settlement of Nova Scotia from New England, McNutt had had no concern at all.

McNutt is best remembered through the Ulster settlers, and here the part that he played was a real one. He induced his countrymen to come both from New Hampshire and from Ulster, until he was restrained by the Government. Truro, Londonderry, and Onslow are chiefly due to his interest. Before he brought

Free Associations
first settle Truro
and Onslow.

settlers to these places, the first
settlement of Truro and Onslow had
already taken place by means of free

associations from New England. Among these people were the twenty farmers who have been described as exploring the territory.

1. Haliburton, II, 192.

2. In 1761 there were no inhabitants at Port Roseway (cf. Morris Survey, 1761). A few, however, were to be found there in 1764 (M. II, 449). The grant to McNutt was later escheated. Port Roseway was advertised for sale as the property of the late Benjamin Gerrish, in the Nova Scotia Chronicle, Jan. 11th, 1775.

Their presence at Truro can be inferred from grants awarded to them in 1759, which required one half of the intending settlers to be on the ground by the summer of 1760. An appeal to the government for a road to Halifax is recorded on August 5th, 1760. In May, 1761, thirty families came to Onslow from Massachusetts. The first town meeting was held on July 28th. Fifty-two families are entered in the book of township records begun at that time. In May, Charles Morris, provincial surveyor, received instructions to lay out their lands. The condition of these immigrants was desperate during the first winter, and a petition to Halifax, sent on April 21st, 1762, (1) secured relief from the government.

The number of Scotch-Irish which McNutt induced to remove from New Hampshire to Truro, Onslow, and Londonderry is not known. It appears that they formed the bulk of the settlers at Truro and Onslow, while the majority of those at Londonderry,

N. S., were brought directly from Londonderry receives settlers direct from Ulster. McNutt's connection with this

latter scheme may be traced with some clearness. On Nov. 30, 1761, he had a vessel ready. He had himself been in London that year and had visited Londonderry,

1. Additional facts in the growth of the population of Truro and Onslow:— A report by Charles Morris ("State and Condition of the Province of Nova Scotia together with some observations" Oct. 29th, 1763; Colonial Office Records, transcript A, 72, N.S. 1763 P. A. of C.) says that Onslow possesses 50 families "most indigent and indolent" Truro, 60 families, Irish Protestants from New England, "a very industrious people, with a large stock". A memorial to the Lords of Trade, August 30th, 1766, states that the Scotch-Irish settlers from New Hampshire to Truro number 50; and also that these had been recommended by the Rev. John Moorhead, first minister of the Presbyterian Church, Boston, (1730-1773).

Ireland, in April. Two expeditions sent out by him from that place came to Nova Scotia. In the first of these, with Messrs. Cadwell and Vance acting as his agents, three hundred settlers left in the "Hopewell" arriving at Halifax on October 9th, (1) 1761. The passengers succeeding in reaching Londonderry, N. S., the site of their new homes, in the spring of 1762. In this year the second expedition sent out by McNutt also arrived. The persons brought in it were first settled at New Dublin, (2) near Liverpool. Nearly all of them left that place eventually. (3) Some became tenants of Belcher and Co., more dispersed to other parts of the province; but the majority joined their countrymen at Londonderry. Early in 1763, by order of the King in Council, the Board of Trade were authorized to grant McNutt more land in Nova Scotia for his colonizing schemes; but later in the same year, because of the uncertain disposition of the Scotch-Irish in America, and the rapidly rising spirit of republicanism among them, the Council on Plantations laid down a barrier to Irish emigration. Vessels continued to sail for America, however, and two reached Nova Scotia a few years later, during ~~the~~ ^{an} interval when the restrictions were relaxed. On the outbreak of the war of Independence, this stream to America ceased al-

1. Boston Gazette and Country Journal, Oct. 26th, 1761; Boston NewsLetter, Oct. 29th, 1761. (Eaton, 'Colchester Co' R. S. C. 1912, II).

2. Report, J. DesBarres, N. S. A. 71, 132; also M. II, 423.

3. Eaton, op. cit. II, 257.

(1) (2)

together, and was not renewed until the peace of 1783.

1. Additional facts regarding immigration direct from Ulster:-
 1762 saw 20 families settle between Ingonish and Bass River
 (Eaton, R. S. C., 1922, II, 256). (Complete census for 1770,
 for Londonderry and Truro, is given in an MS of Isreal Longworth)
 In spite of the ruling against him it is apparent from notices
 preserved in different parts of the province that McNutt con-
 tinued to introduce Ulster settlers until 1770. In 1765 his third
 vessel arrived with 50 persons. In 1766 Simeon Perkins of
 Liverpool refers to the arrival of North of Ireland immigrants
 at points on the south shore, in an entry under October 23rd:
 "Irish emigrants from Londonderry arrive at Port Mouton. I
 agree with some here to cut timber for them. 62 souls in a
 ship to settle at Port Mouton." In 1769 a vessel bound to
 Pennsylvania was disabled off Sable Island and four families were
 landed at Halifax. It is possible that these are the
 families from Ireland who settled at Fort Ellis (G. G. Campbell,
 'History in a Valley', Dalhousie Review, IX, 2, 160). On
 November 8th, 1769, the ship "Hawke" arrived at Halifax from
 Londonderry, on board of which were Col. McNutt and 111 persons
 (Nova Scotia Chronicle, 1769). These settlers located at
 different points in the province. There is evidence to show,
 however, that many of them eventually found their way to
 Londonderry, (N.S.)

2. McNutt himself did not return to Nova Scotia until 1765,
 He then resided at Port Roseway. Further facts in his life
 are as follows: He was born in Ireland about 1725; he con-
 tinued to live at New Jerusalem or Port Roseway until 1778,
 when his establishment was plundered by privateersmen (Documents,
 State House, Boston, quoted in Poole 'Annals of Yarmouth and
 Barrington in the Revolutionary War' 45-49). (cf. also his
 memorial to the Council and House of Representatives of
 Massachusetts, in 1778). McNutt died at Lexington in 1811.

CHAPTER V

LAND GRANTING AFTER THE PEACE OF PARIS

1759 and the fall of Quebec brought the free associations to Nova Scotia and Colonel McNutt's Ulstermen. 1763 and the Peace of Paris introduced the period of speculative land companies. Officers and soldiers of regiments recently disbanded, and many business men in the old colonies of America at the same time, sought a share in the new lands in Nova Scotia by forming land companies and petitioning for grants. It is now necessary to review the conditions on which land was granted, and to discover to what extent actual settlement followed this great speculative interest aroused outside the province after the Peace. Between 1763 and 1768 crown lands were given away in immense blocks to these land companies, formed chiefly in America. In all the eighteenth century, the five years that followed the Peace of Paris was the period in which interest in Nova Scotian lands was strongest in the outside world. But the interest was wholly in land, and such settlement as resulted was due to those companies which brought the minimum of settlers necessary to retain their holdings. After 1768 the events leading to the Revolutionary war diverted the energy of American promoters into other channels, and speculative interest in Nova Scotian lands declined.

The manner of granting land varied somewhat. In the initial period, from 1749 to 1759, land in Nova Scotia was at the disposal of the Governor-in-Council, subject to the approval of the Board Of Trade. The supreme authorities, both in the province and in

England, continued to dispose of public lands even after a representative Assembly had been summoned. The grants made prior to 1759, with the exception of the small lots given to the settlers at Halifax, Lunenburg, Annapolis and Canso, had

Land granting
prior to 1763

been made chiefly to various Halifax gentlemen, to army officers stationed there, and to officers and men of

regiments which had served in the capture of enemy posts within the province. These grants were largely free gifts from the Crown, containing no conditions as to the settlement or clearing of land. The conditions under which land had been granted to the free associations varied slightly. Many of the original grants given under the conditions stated in Governor Lawrence's second proclamation (and preserved in large numbers in the province archives) lapsed, for very often the original subscribers had failed to emigrate to Nova Scotia. The actual settlers who took up the land described in the original grant did not in some cases receive titles until after several years, as confirmatory grants to settlers on the soil. The terms made to free New England associations were Liberal. The quit rent was fixed at one shilling per year per fifty acres. One third of the area granted to each association was to be settled within ten years, and the remaining two-thirds within the next twenty. In each township one right or share was reserved by the government, according to New England practice, for the support of the first Protestant

(1)
 minister, one for a church, and one for a school. Minor differences in some of the terms of the grants were not sufficient to change or influence in any^{way} the growth of a settlement.

Grants made to the land companies after the Peace of Paris were similar to those given to the free associations of New Englanders, but the acreage was vastly greater. The qualifications (2) necessary were not many. No Catholic could hold land. Titles became null and void if land was sold to any but a Protestant. While there is no record of a grant of any size being made to any English Catholic, Acadians were permitted to settle upon

unoccupied land at this time, but titles
 Conditions after 1763: (3)
 Quit rents were denied them. With regard to quit

rents, these were reserved to the Crown in all cases; but exemption from payment could be obtained, first for two, and then for ten years. It does not appear that in all this first period of British rule in Nova Scotia the government was successful in collecting even a small fraction of the quit rent due. Governor Legge reports that five thousand pounds should be received each year, but that practically nothing had yet come his way. This slackness in payments on the part of

1. Other clauses common to all the New England grants were the gift of "all and all manner of Mines unopened excepting mines of gold and silver, precious stones, and lapiz lazuli". Each of the grantees bound himself to plant "within ten years of the date of his grant, two acres of hemp, and to keep up the same during successive years." (Grant Books, N.S. Arch.)

2. Jaques Robins, a Frenchman who professed to be a Protestant, and who was living on the Mirimichi, sent many appeals for grants of land to Governor Wilmot in 1763, but apparently failed to receive them.

3. Folio 359 "Papers connected with the settlement of the Old Townships" 23 (N. S. Arch.)

English holders was probably due to the government's indulgence in not collecting the feudal dues from the Acadian French.

Conditions had not improved in 1773. In that year Governor Legge reports that the New Englanders who had been resident in Nova Scotia for twelve years had not contributed a shilling toward the expenses of government. Generally speaking, the quit-rent system in Nova Scotia had hardly become established before the American Revolution.

The fever for claiming and granting land swept over the eastern part of the continent after the Peace, and in Nova Scotia carried the local authorities off their feet. A motley crew of adventurers, ranging from ordinary speculators to grasping noblemen attempting to enrich themselves through the favor of the Board of Trade of the Crown, swarmed in upon the authorities, demanding a share in the new lands. Interest in Great Britain was not fully aroused until the division of lands in the island of St. John in 1767. But the rush on the land office at Halifax from the side of America culminated in 1765. Even the home authorities seemed powerless or unwilling to deal with the situation. Immense tracts were given away by the Governor and his Council at the stroke of a pen. Murdoch, in his history of the province, declares: "I cannot but regard the year as an ugly one, from the extravagant disposal of public lands." Further land companies sprang up to take advantage of the growing prodigality. Several other factors combined to accentuate the situation, and to make 1765 a momentous year.

1. M.II, 525; also Legge to Dartmouth, Nov. 15, 1774, N.S.A. 91 110; and Martin, 80.

Governor Lawrence had died on October 19th, 1760. His place had been taken by Wilmot, a man without the same powers of decision. Wilmot placed no check on the indiscriminate land grabbing. Further, the western boundary of Massachusetts had not been definitely fixed. This gave latitude for extravagant grants in that direction. (1) But the rush was greatest in 1765 because the proposed new stamp Act for the American colonies was anticipated. The Land Office at Halifax was besieged with people pressing for their grants, in order to save the stamp duties. Sixteen townships were allotted as many companies in October. These companies were composed of American speculators who were largely residents of Philadelphia, and of Warminster, Bristol, and other towns of New York and New Jersey. Men prominent in colonial affairs were among their promoters, (2) notably Anthony Wayne, Benjamin Franklin, and Dr. Witherspoon of New Jersey College.

To what extent was the actual settlement of Nova Scotia advanced by these companies? The results may be briefly summarized. The majority of the proprietors made no attempt to fulfill the conditions of their grants, by the introduction of

1. Governor Bernard of Massachusetts obtained a grant of 100,000 acres near the St. Croix, from the Nova Scotia government, as he was in doubt about the jurisdiction of Massachusetts in Passamoquoddy Bay. (N. B. H. S. Vol. 1.)

2. Wayne was sent to Nova Scotia as agent in 1765 and 1766 (Sawtelle, quoting Stille, C. J. 'Anthony Wayne', 8; Spears, J. R. 'Anthony Wayne' 8).

settlers. They were largely non-resident, and their land was later escheated.

In a few areas, however, those who secured grants actually themselves settled. In 1763, a Royal

*Actual
Settlements,*

Proclamation was given at St. James offering lands in Nova Scotia to officers, N. C. O's, and men

(1) who had served in the late French war. Many applications

On the St. John River came from groups of soldiers who really desired homes and who planned to settle,

(2) and were not, first and foremost, spec- (3)
ulators. Such was the St. John River Society; a company formed by officers of the Royal Americans, the 44th Foot, and other (4)
regiments stationed at Montreal early in 1764.

On the peninsula of Nova Scotia companies formed in 1765 succeeded in planting settlements. Dr. Benjamin Franklin and others

At Pictou of Philadelphia secured a grant on (5)
October 31st, 1765 at Pictou. On the 10th

- (1) Field Officers received 5,000 acres: Captains, 3000; Subalterns, 2,000; N.C.O's, 200; and privates, 50. Officers and men of the navy had similar offers made to them. (M. II, 432.)
- (2) Letter to Joshua Mauger, August 5th, 1763; also Capt. Glasier's letter, quoted in Raymond, 'River St. John', 357.
- (3) A meeting of the Society was held in April, 1768, to discuss what steps might be taken to hold the large grants which had been made to them and which were now threatened with escheat. (Letter, July 1770, Simonds and White to Newbury-Port). For the many other grants made on the St. John, see Raymond 'River St. John', 276, 277, 353, 356; and Hannay, J. 'History of N. B.', I, 68, 69.
- (4) Captain Spry, Colonel Kemble, and a few others did a little to promote the settlement of their lands on the St. John. Some officer settled on the peninsula; cf. a grant to Capt. McKinnon at Argyle, April 1st, 1766. (Campbell, 'History of Yarmouth', 48).
- (5) Other names in the grant were Rev. James Lyon, Thos and Robert Harris.

of June, the brig "Hope" arrived from Philadelphia with six families. They were from Pennsylvania and Maryland. They remained, in spite of hard conditions; for the natural town site on the harbour was closed to them, being held under another grant. A few families joined them in 1769. In 1765 settlements were also made in the Chignecto Isthmus district. Haldimand and Boquet succeeded in placing twenty-five families on their lands at Shepody, and at Hopewell. Messrs. Hope and Cummings of Philadelphia brought a few settlers to the Albert

At Chignecto.

county side of the Petitcodiac; Petre,

John Hughes, William Grant, and

Clarkson and company, of Philadelphia,

brought a few also to westmoreland side. These settlers were held first as tenants of the companies, but later were enabled to buy their lands. At Hillsborough nine German families, which had emigrated from the Rhine in 1749 and had settled first at Schulykill on the Hudson, received a grant of lands at Hillsborough. To the above groups of settlers on the northern limits of the Isthmus few additions could have been made within the next twenty years,

1. Patterson, O., 'History of the County of Pictou,' 65, 67 (giving a return, Jan. 1st, 1770, for 'the township of Donegal or Pictou'). Other settlers may have arrived from America, and withdrawn, as the following notice in the Pennsylvania Chronicle, Apr. 25th, 1767, suggests: "The owners of the land at Pictou, in N. S. having hired the Brigantine 'Betsy' John Hull, master, being a double-decked vessel, almost new, and very well accommodated to carry passengers hereby give notice to such persons as are minded to accept their proposals, and settle on the said tract, that the said Brigantine will take them on board at Philadelphia, any day next week, and at Reedy Island on Monday and Tuesday, the 4th and 5th May, and then proceed on the voyage without delay. For further information, apply to Andrew Hodge and George Bryan, in Philadelphia and to such of the concerned as shall attend at Reedy Island."

2. Hannay, I, 67, 68.

for a return in 1788 from the crown land surveyors shows but twelve families in the parish of Moncton.

These are all the results, in actual settlement, that can be gleaned from the records of land granting in Nova Scotia during the five or six years that followed the Peace of Paris. Some other companies, indeed, succeeded in bringing in one or two families, who in most cases left the province within a year or two. Some proprietors never showed any intention of carrying out

their obligations. The blame for the
General failure of the
land companies; results. general failure must be distributed

equally between the home and provincial governments. Before 1760, power to make grants was almost altogether left in the hands of the Governor and Council, and Lawrence had used that power sparingly. Under his recommendations the distributions of land had been judicially made. The home government interfered more arbitrarily in the administration of his successors. The Philadelphia companies seem to have received their holdings through the favor of the Governor and Council at Halifax; but after 1765 power to grant land was kept more closely at home, and the Island of St. John was given away in blocks of from 20,000 to 150,000 acres to individuals residing, and to companies formed, in England. Altogether, some eighteen million
(1)
acres in Nova Scotia were disposed of in these few years.

The progress of actual settlement in Nova Scotia was retarded rather than advanced by these transactions. The genuine settlers were scattered throughout vast areas, a condition that deprived them of the friendship of neighbors, and of the privilege of accessible

markets. The best lands were tied up for many years. Afterwards the local authorities constantly petitioned the home government to re-invest the lands in the Crown by a process of escheat; but did not receive permission until after the close of the American War, when it was necessary to find homes for some thousands of Loyalists. The Revolutionary War, indeed, saved large parts of the peninsula of Nova Scotia from the fate that overtook the whole of Prince Edward Island, which for a hundred years suffered the evil of non-resident proprietors. Apart from the first settlements, and the lands granted to free associations of New Englanders, Nova Scotia narrowly escaped being divided by these lavish grants into estates farmed on the tenant system. But fortunately, perhaps, nearly all the large companies broke faith with the tenants. They were sued and verdicts were obtained against them. Then the lands were sold for damages and costs, and were bought in by the tenants who thus became free-
(1)
holders.

Scarcely any change was brought about by the activities of the land companies in the general character of the population of the province, as it had been already determined before 1763. Unrecorded private enterprise, and the penetration of the country by squatters, made a small addition to the general number of inhabitants. In 1770 three-quarters of the population of Nova Scotia were of American birth still, and these were the chief agents in framing provincial institutions.

CHAPTER SIX. THE LAND SITUATION IN AMERICA AND ITS EFFECT ON
THE GRANTING AND SETTLEMENT OF LAND IN NOVA
SCOTIA: 1760-1770.

An attempt must now be made to deal with two problems that will have come before the minds of all students who have followed thus far the description of the settlement of Nova Scotia by free associations of New Englanders from 1760 to 1763, outlined in chapters, three and four; and the interest of American land companies in Nova Scotia lands, so intense for the five years following the Peace of Paris, described in chapter five. The two problems may be indicated by putting the following two questions: first, what ultimate reasons can be given, beyond immediate causes already referred to, to explain the exodus to Nova Scotia from New England, when New England had itself a great hinterland unsettled and even unexplored? in other words, why should Nova Scotia be chosen as a place in which to build wilderness homes by enterprising pioneers from New England, when such a vast territory as that which was adjacent to their own frontiers lay within their reach at home? And, secondly, why should land companies have been formed in such numbers in Philadelphia and other American cities, a few years later, to promote the settlement of Nova Scotia, and not rather the settlement of their own western unpeopled areas?

In the preceeding ~~with~~ chapters some immediate reasons have been given to show why Nova Scotia in 1760 should be regarded by certain classes in New England as a desirable place of residence. These immediate causes of the movement have sometimes been

referred to by local historians, and wonder at the extent of the migration has occasionally been expressed, but no writer has attempted to search for an ultimate explanation, why the New Englanders came, or to give the underlying causes of the activity of the American land companies. That New England and the middle colonies were well settled at the time of the exodus to Nova Scotia has been frequently stated in American histories; but why an outlet for a surplus population should be found in Nova Scotia rather than in the vast empty regions at the back of the old settlements in America, has not been discussed; nor has any explanation been offered, as yet, by historical writers in Nova Scotia. Many of the districts to the west and south of the old colonies were more fertile than the majority of lands available in Nova Scotia, the climate was more mild, the winters especially less severe. It appears as a remarkable fact to Nova Scotians living in the twentieth century and emigrating in such large numbers each year to the United States that their forbears should ever have abandoned homes in New England and even in the latitude of Philadelphia, and have come to desolate and lonely regions in Nova Scotia. A full explanation of the origin of governmental and social institutions, and of the beginning of the Protestant churches in the province, requires an understanding of the ultimate causes of American interest in Nova Scotia in this early and important formative period. In this chapter answers will be attempted in a study that has two parts; the first part, dealing with the problem of the migration of free associations of New Englanders to Nova Scotia; and the second part, with the problem of the interest in Nova Scotia of American land companies.

A solution for the first problem is offered by recalling the factors that limited the expansion of New England; the restrictions placed on the granting of lands at home; the unfavorable conditions imposed; and the social distinctions existing between "commoner" and "non-Commoner." A solution for the second problem is offered by examining the colonial policy of the British home government, especially restrictions on the natural westward expansion of the American colonies; and the personal prejudices of the men in power at London, who favored a policy that fostered sea-board colonies, but discouraged settlement away from the sea. The following sections will elaborate these points.

I. ULTIMATE REASONS FOR NEW ENGLAND MIGRATION.

The American colonies in the middle of the eighteenth century fall into three groups according to their type of government. There were the charter colonies, out-growths of trading companies, of which the New England colonies were examples; the proprietary colonies, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware, where the land had been granted to a definite number of land-owners or "Proprietors"; and the colonies held directly from the crown, such as Virginia. The whole thirteen colonies were settled on land originally given away by the crown or sold at a nominal price. In the proprietary colonies, the land fell into the hands of a comparatively small number who themselves introduced colonists and parcelled out the smaller holdings. Land titles were ultimately derived from the crown; but the proprietors, or group of proprietors, distributed out their land to tenants, or

sold it with a title that originated in themselves. As

Land system
in the Amer-
ican colonies.

settlement and colonization proceeded,
in all the thirteen colonies throughout
the eighteenth century there came into

being a very clearly distinguished class, the land-owners or
Proprietors. A landed aristocracy arose in the south. Social
distinctions were not so clearly marked in the New England
colonies, and so these escaped the land riots that occurred in the
(1)
Jerseys, and the land wars that broke out further south. But in
New England, although Proprietors of the southern type did not
exist, as the century advanced a distinction developed between
the "Commoners," who had inherited or had bought the rights of
the original grantees of the township, and who may be called also
(2)
"Town Proprietors", and the "non-Commoners", freemen, (but
without the land privileges of the Commoners). Land speculation
heightened this distinction.

As the eighteenth century advanced, the population of the
(3)
American colonies increased more and more rapidly. In 1750 the
extreme limit of expansion westward was reached, when the
settlements touched the height of land from which the rivers flowed
eastward to the Atlantic. Osgood says that during the thirty
years of comparative peace which followed the Treaty of Utrecht
a gradual drift of population westward and northward had been
going on, with the result that the frontier was extended to this

1. The trouble lasted from 1738 to 1755, and was caused by squatters and early residents who bought up Indian claims in these regions and occupied the land without recognition of the superior rights of the proprietors. (O. 18th IV, 28.)
2. Egleston, M. "The Land System in the New England colonies" 28.
3. By 1760, the Colonies had a population of 1,600,000. It was doubling itself in 23 years (Howard, G. E. "Preliminaries of the Revolution", 201.).

geographical barrier, and the spaces behind it were being filled up. In the Carolinas by the middle of the century, no compact

Evidences of the crowding of the American colonies before the last war with France

areas of good quality remained ungranted except in the back settlements near the (1) mountains. The condition of Pennsylvania at this time is reported as follows: "

the number of Germans annually imported into the older colonies of America have so over-stocked the good lands within convenient distance of navigation that many of them have lately been obliged to move into Carolina or Virginia". Massachusetts disposed of her last unoccupied lands in the '60's of the century. Connecticut had granted all her vacant lands by 1740. In the records of these older New England colonies many references may be found to (2) the people leaving because they cannot get land. Thus long before the last French and Indian war, cheap arable land became scarce east of the Mountains, and the tide-water districts were becoming over-crowded, due to the steady inflow of European immigrants, and the natural increase of population. The situation was so regarded by contemporary authorities. "The English settlements" , says one writer, "as they are at present circumstanced, are absolutely at a stand; they are settled up to the mountains, and in the mountains there is nowhere land together sufficient for a settlement large enough to subsist by itself and to defend itself, and preserve a communication

1. O. 18th IV, 208.

2. Massachusetts House Journal, June 14th, 1727; June 14th, 1732. Also Province Laws, 1732-33, Ch. 126; and Resolves, XI, 701, 702. "by the Great Increase of His Majesty's good Subjects, many that are inclined to Industry have not been able to obtain Lands for the Employment of themselves and Families, and great numbers have removed to neighboring colonies for their accommodation."

(1)
with the present settlements."

Geographical barriers were not so important in limiting the expansion of the population of New England as the pressure on her frontiers by the Indians and the French. In Maine, the progress of settlement in the first half of the eighteenth century had been checked by Ralle's war. Only a slight advance along the coast to the eastward was made prior to the peace of 1748. The powerful Iroquois confederacy occupied lands immediately to the westward. After 1759, the remarkable rush to take up

Fall of Quebec releases pent- up New England population	frontier lands already noted swept over New England. Townships were carried to the far limits of the wilderness. A
--	--

wonderful activity in New Hampshire and Vermont prevailed.

The catalogue of new settlements projected and carried out in Maine is also extremely full. But a closer study of the effects of the fall of Quebec reveals that the pent-up forces of population did not find an immediate out-let on all the frontiers either of New England or of the colonies further south. For a year, in some districts, and later in others, the menace from hostile Indians was too great to permit settlement. Pontiac's conspiracy and confederation of Indian tribes brought hideous scenes of plunder and massacre to a long line of country twenty miles in depth. In the fall of 1759 there was one direction in which a migration was possible, with perfect safety, and that was toward Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia was the first province to be guaranteed absolute protection through the British success, and to be made secure from the possibility of Indian attack. It was, therefore,

the first of the new territories toward which the eager home seekers could turn. There is little doubt that this early freedom from danger was one of the chief causes of the deflection to Nova Scotia of so many New Englanders in 1760.

The start which Nova Scotia obtained in this way over other frontier provinces in the race to relieve the over-crowded areas of the older colonies does not by itself explain why several thousands of New Englanders after 1760 continued to cross over

Further reasons
why new lands in
Nova Scotia were
preferred to new lands
in New England.

into that province. The general preference
given Nova Scotian lands over frontier
lands in New England by New Englanders
was due to the more favorable conditions
offered there. In the new townships

on the New England frontier, more restrictions were placed upon the freedom of the settler. In many cases locations beside rivers or navigable waters were withheld from the ordinary (1) settler, these sites being especially reserved by the proprietors. It was the abundance of just this type of location that gave Nova Scotia its greatest charm in the eyes of New Englanders. Again, in some land grants on the frontier of New England there was a (2) suggestion of military service, that might be required, a condition left out in Nova Scotia. But the larger part of the citizens of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut taking up new lands in Nova Scotia, did so for a reason that is more

1. Massachusetts offered emigrants 100 acres anywhere on the public lands of Maine, except by the rivers and navigable waters. (Williamson, 'History of Maine,' II, 507.)
2. A recommendation in a pamphlet entitled "The Expediency of Securing our American colonies" (pub. Edin.) is "that soldiers be given lands on the Ohio on condition of military service when wanted" (Ford, 43.)

complicated and has deeper roots. This reason lay in the great division in social life that marked the old townships of New England, where many persons had no rights to common lands; and in the opportunity given them in Nova Scotia when they received their lands directly from the Crown.

Rise of the land-
lords in New
England.

Most of the farmers emigrating came
from the old districts of New Eng-
land where controversies over land

were bitter. When these towns had been founded in the seventeenth century, the original settlers had shared in the common lands in proportion to their investment in the enterprise. Those who met
(1)
the greater expenses received the greater shares. No great
(2)
inequality was countenanced. Everyone had enough, and freehold tenure was the universal rule. It has been said that, in the earliest period, in the principle of sharing undivided lands the New England village was a survival from the ancient village
(3)
communities of the old world.

But, if at the outset a considerable degree of social equality existed, a hundred years brought marked changes in the composition of the town's population. At first, all inhabitants sharing in the common lands of the township were "Commoners" or "Proprietors." Although in some cases there had been certain grantees not admitted to the body of the "Proprietors", "Proprietor" and "freeman" as a rule meant the same thing. But now the land community, and the

1. O. 17th, II, 456.
2. Egleston, 31.
3. Weedon, W. B. "Economic and Social History of New England, 1620- 1789)" II, 513.

(1)

political community, became distinct bodies. In the changes of population and of fortune, and in the introduction of new elements into the population of the town, the "Proprietors" were narrowed down by inheritance or purchase to an exclusive group, "the original grantees or purchasers of the land, with such as from time to time they chose to add to their number,"⁽²⁾ "A body perpetuated by gifts, sales, and inheritance of property, consisting of the heirs and assigns, or successors of their members, and dominated by narrow and selfish traditions."⁽³⁾ The remainder were the "non-Commoners." By the middle of the eighteenth century the distinction between the "Proprietors" and the "non-Commoners" became increasingly marked. *Then - - -*

1. "Persons might become freemen of the town and thus have a voice in the town meeting, or even be freemen of the colony, and yet not find admission within the circle of the proprietors. The idea of freemanship was political in its nature, that of proprietorship was territorial" (O. 17th, II, 464)

2. Ibid, II, 461.

3. Ibid, II, 465.

There were towns where the "Non-Commoners" were equal in number to the Proprietors, and some in which they were more numerous. Bitter struggles developed over rights to common lands, but the claims of the Proprietors were in most cases supported by the courts.⁽¹⁾ These now formed in each locality separate organizations that excluded the bulk of the population, and held meetings regularly, distinct from the town meetings. They were thoroughly organized to protect their rights. They had immense powers conferred on them by law.⁽²⁾ They were able to limit their own membership, and had authority to transfer land titles from group ownership to individual ownership.⁽³⁾ They had power to control exclusively the regulation and disposal of the common and undivided lands. They held the timber, stones, and gravel; and feeding of cattle and horses on common lands belonged to them, and was upheld by laws in their favor against encroachments and trespasses. They were thus a class clearly divided from the bulk of the inhabitants by these privileges. They formed the landed, conservative, and gentry class, protected by both state and church, a "survival of European feudalism which had found permanent place in the American colonial system."⁽⁴⁾

- (1) The Proprietors were given the right to levy taxes to defend the suits brought against them. (Acts authorizing Proprietors to tax, Province Laws, Massachusetts, 1726-27, Chapter 13; 1753-54, chapter 1.) Similar measures were passed in Rhode Island and Connecticut.
- (2) Akagi, R. H. 'Town Proprietors of the New England Colonies', 74. (This is the most recent and most detailed study of the question). Osgood, at the close of his work on the colonies in the 17th century, declares that a study of the territorial system in New England in the 18th century "awaits further investigation" (IV, 24).
- (3) Akagi, 80.
- (4) D. 17th, IV, 24.

The evils of this system were accentuated when the fall of Quebec gave a stimulus to the formation of great Proprietary companies. Many of the old Proprietors had the disposal of the new lands. To former mischiefs were added the disastrous effects of speculation and absentee proprietorship. Many were (1) unable to attend to their immense holdings. Controversies between the different companies hindered settlement. It was extremely difficult in these circumstances for a settler to get a definite title to his land. Unless he was a grantee, he became a squatter. In Vermont, as early as 1752, men began to make clearings without license or authority. Before 1775, several towns had sprung up in this way. When the squatters of a certain district arrived at a definite number, they would write for a charter confirming their possession. The request was ordinarily granted. But a title could not always be counted on. Massachusetts regarded the squatters as trespassers, illegal possessors, pure and simple, and was indignant when it learned in 1781 that many persons had entered on the un-appropriated lands of Maine "contrary to law and justice."

1. One Proprietor held no less than 46 townships in New Hampshire and Vermont. Lands changed hands among the Proprietors, and their agents travelled up and down the country buying shares or rights. (Akagi, 215). Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire, granted lands to 200 Proprietors, reserving in each case 500 acres for himself. (Mayo, L. S., 'John Wentworth' 21).

2. Connecticut Archives, Towns and Lands, MSS VI, 67; VII, 109-111, 116; Learned, 'History of Windham Cty.' I, 156, 214; Walker, 'The Controversy between the Proprietors of Bow and the Proprietors of Pennycook, 1727-1789.' (Akagi, 133, 166).

What proportion of the emigrants to Nova Scotia were Proprietors
(1)

Emigrants to Nova
Scotia largely "non-
Commoners."

is difficult to determine. The agents

of the free associations were, many of

them, apparently, of this class; but
(2)

very often they did not remain. The names of prominent New

England families are well represented in the lists of grantees.

But from the attempts of landlords in New England to prevent

their removal, from the fact that the Nova Scotia government

had to provide vessels to transport them, and from their poverty

afterwards, it is apparent that the bulk were of the "non-Commoner"
class. Crowded towns in the older districts where land controversies

were keenest provided most of the emigrants. Thus, in explaining
(3)

the exodus of New Englanders to Nova Scotia, besides the free

gift of Acadian lands, the old land system in New England where

the "Proprietors" controlled the common lands and the remainder

of the population had few rights, played a large part. The

migration is also seen to have had a democratic character that

forecasted the revolution; for it was in many respects a revolt

1. Eaton, A. W. H. 'History of Kings County, N. S.' while giving family histories in detail, does not enter into this question.

2. Eaton, op. cit. 69.

3. The towns where the Proprietors guarded their rights most vigorously, and where prolonged controversies show that the distinction between "Proprietor" and "Non-Commoner" was the most marked, are as follows: Providence (O. 17th I, 339; Newbury (Ibid. II, 459); Haverhill, (Chase, 'History of Haverhill', 75); Groton (Egleston, 30); Barnstable (Freeman, "Cape Cod" II, 202-3); Colchester, Conn. (Weeden, I, 514); for towns in Connecticut (O. 17th II, 513). Dr. Eaton has shown that these were the towns from which most came to Nova Scotia.

against privilege and a movement toward equality and freedom. A generation later, the Loyalists, who were of the Proprietor class and imperialists, discovered among their countrymen who had come first to Nova Scotia a strong sympathy with the republicanism of the American patriots.

II. ULTIMATE REASONS FOR THE INTEREST OF THE LAND COMPANIES.

The second problem is to explain the speculative interest of American land companies in Nova Scotia after the Peace of Paris. The solution lies in the action of the British home government in curbing the expansive movement of the American colonies toward western areas, and in attempting to divert it toward Nova Scotia, Georgia, and the Floridas.

Proclamation of
the Western Line.

It has been shown already that by the middle of the century, the rising tide of population was pressing toward the Alleghanies. Before the war with France,

a movement across the mountains was not possible, owing both to the chain of posts by which France maintained her claim to the line extending down the Ohio to the Mississippi, and to the hostility of her Indian allies. Nor could the immense stimulus given to colonial expansion by the favorable outcome of the war have immediate effect, because on the southern and western frontiers of the colonies the Indian menace continued until 1763.⁽¹⁾ Then, just as at this date a free movement began westward, the British ministry adopted a more vigorous policy of colonial control. No sooner was the Peace of Paris signed than the famous proclamation of the "Western Line" was issued, on October 7th, 1763. The proclamation forbade the colonial governors "to grant warrant of survey or to pass patents for any lands beyond the sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west or northwest." The text of the proclamation stated that all such territory was reserved for the present to the royal sovereignty⁽²⁾ for the use of the Indians.

The proclamation directly affected the schemes of many American land speculators and promoters of settlements. Men prominent in the business life of the colonies, from patriots as well as ^{from} private motives, had planned for a division of the territories west of the Alleghanies, should the war with France be successful. It was thought that new colonies should be

1. In 1763 the Indians destroyed all the settlements of the Susquehanna Company. (Mathews, 120)

2. The text of the proclamation is published in Franklin's works, (Spark's Edition) IV, 374-379; in MacDonald, W. 'Select Charters and other documents illustrative of American History, 1606-1775; 267; and in Kennedy, W. P. M. 'Documents of the Canadian Constitution, 1759-1915', 18. It was originally printed in the Annual Register for 1763, 208-213.

established, as being in the best interests of the inhabitants

New colonies in the West prevented of the older ones. Benjamin Franklin favored a project for three in the West;

one to be seated at Detroit, another on the lower Ohio, and a third in the Illinois country. Eager land speculators beheld a rich field for exploitation as the peace drew near. They formed companies in advance, for the purchase of such lands as the Crown would consent to sell. Had these plans been carried out immediately after the Peace, and had new colonies such as Franklin suggested been formed, they would have absorbed all the surplus population. But the British government refused to grant land beyond the "Western Line". The energies of land speculators and professional colonizers had to be expended in other fields where the home government gave encouragement; and this was undoubtedly one principal reason for the intense American interest in Nova Scotia, during the years 1763 to 1768, when the western areas were legally closed.

The western problem, then, although most complicated, accounts for the encouragement of settlement in Nova Scotia after the Peace of Paris, and explains why the British government treated the American land companies so generously. British policy and the western problem must, therefore, be studied in some detail.

The Western Problem A grave responsibility rested on the shoulders of the British after they had wrested Canada from the French. The whole Mississippi valley, and the valleys of its tributaries, fell into their hands. The problem of Indian vs. Backwoodsmen immediately arose. It is well stated by Morison: "should the Indian hunting-grounds be reserved for them in the interest of humanity and the fur-trade? or should

the advance of the white frontier be favored at the Indian expense? Should the Indians be left to the mercy of the traders? How should land acquired from the Indians be disposed of? What degree of self-government should be allowed new settlements?"⁽¹⁾

Something had to be done at once. Pontiac's rebellion broke out in 1763 and was put down by Colonel Bouquet's expedition, although the Algonquin tribes between the Great Lakes and the Ohio were not fairly pacified until 1766. Also Britain had decided at length to retain Canada and Florida as the result of the war, instead of Guadaloupe and Havana. Action was necessary and the British ministry in power met the western problem by laying down the temporary line along the Alleghanies, which came to be known as the "Western Line".⁽²⁾ There was no time to parley about the rights of land companies. The Indians had to be pacified, and the Appalachian divide appeared as a natural⁽³⁾ boundary.

The "Western Line", as at first proposed, was not intended to be permanent. The colonists and squatters apparently understood this. The frontiersmen did not respect it. There were consequently Indian outrages and bloody reprisals. But the

1. Morison, S. E. "Sources and Documents illustrating the American Revolution, 1764-1788" xvi-xxxi.

2. As early as 1761 Colonel Bouquet had issued a proclamation, under orders from the home government, prohibiting settlement west of the Alleghanies, because of abuses practised on the Indians by traders and settlers. By the influence of Lords Egmont and Halifax these measures were given fuller weight, and the power of the Indian agents was extended.

3. Alvord, C. W., "The Mississippi Valley in British Politics." I, 59, ff.

great schemes of the land companies were upset. For several years, however, it continued to remain a barrier. Rapid changes of the British ministry did not permit a constructive or a progressive western policy. Carter, who has most thoroughly studied the problem, declares that; "the determination of George III to break the Whig aristocrac^{ie}t brought new ministr^{ie}s in rapid succession". He also states that as long as the Grenville ministry was in power "there was an expectation of an orderly and imperially controlled westward expansion"⁽¹⁾, and that "a careful analysis of the proclamation of 1763 proves that, when it was issued, it was the plan of the ministry to open up the region⁽²⁾ of the upper Ohio as soon as the Indians could be pacified". But under the Old Whigs who followed the Marquis of Rockingham, the tendency in administrative circles was to terminate the area of possible settlement at the Appalachian divide. Lord Barrington argued for the maintenance of a perpetual Indian reservation in the great valley of the Ohio. The Grafton ministry confirmed this conservative policy. It was only with the advent of Chatham and his progressive lieutenant, Lord Shelburne, that a movement west again was favored.

Nova Scotia, the Floridas, and Georgia, figured very largely in the minds of British statesmen while the western problem was before them. It is illuminating and important to note that the

1. Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. XI: and Carter, C. E., "The New Regime", intro. xv.

2. Ibid, Vol. X, "The Critical Period"; Michigan Historical Collections, No. 36; Alvord, "Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763", 20.

Board of Trade at first proposed to include in the proclamation of 1763 a statement of the advantages to be offered in the new colonies of the Floridas, and in the old colony of Nova Scotia, to which the ministry was particularly favorable. (1) As originally drafted, the proclamation had two main objects; the preservation of western lands for the Indians; and the encouragement of settlement in these sea-board colonies. It was hoped that the announcement of the boundary would allay the fears of the Indians, and that by skilfully picturing the attractions of the other places for settlement, the pioneers might be drawn away from the frontier. The suggestion of the Board read as follows: "We humbly propose a Proclamation to be immediately issued by Your Majesty on account of the late disturbances among the Indians, as of Your Majesty's fixed determination to permit no grant of lands nor any settlements to be made within certain fixed Bounds, leaving all that territory to the Indians.....and at the same time to declare Your Majesty's Intentions to encourage all such persons who shall be inclined to commence new settlements from Your old colonies.....in Your new colonies of East and West Florida or Your old colony of Nova Scotia?" (2)

1. When it was thought that these two colonies, which had an abundance of unoccupied land, could be offered on such terms as would prove attractive to those in immediate need of homes, the governors of Nova Scotia were given power to cede a hundred thousand acres to one person; and the governors of Florida, twenty thousand. (Alvord, 'Mississippi Valley,' I, 173). The French province of Quebec was not included among the places to be offered for settlement, since it had not yet been decided how far settlement there should or could be encouraged. (Ibid, 188).
2. Inclosure in a letter from the Lords of Trade to Egmont, Whitehall, August 5th, 1763. (Shortt, A. and Doughty, A. G., 'Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791', Vol. I, III).

The British Government in establishing the "Western Line" had the excuse to offer that they were fearful of arousing the Indians, or at least were anxious to keep faith with them. But there is no doubt that more selfish motives are to be found in the policy that closed the West to settlement, and, indirectly, brought about an American interest in the settlement of Nova Scotia. The government was determined to restrict the development of the American colonies to the tide-water districts, for

Fear of American independence determines home government to encourage sea-board colonies.	reasons openly avowed. One was fear that the advance of settlement over the Alleghanies would withdraw the colonists
---	--

beyond the control of the home government. Hillsborough wrote, "the object of the proclamation of 1763 was to restrict the settlements to territory where they could be kept in subjection to the home government"⁽¹⁾. The other reason was the constant emphasis of the people and government in England on the commercial value of the colonies. The American colonies were looked upon almost solely as sources of trade. Hillsborough recommended that the western forts should be abandoned and that the settlements⁽²⁾ dependant on them should not be increased. He stated openly his reasons; that "England could gain nothing from interior settlements; the great and solid advantages arising to this kingdom from North America depend principally upon giving proper

1. By the Quebec Act of 1774 an attempt was made to bring the Ohio valley and the west into touch with the St. Lawrence basin, rather than the Atlantic slope. This was a further step in the same policy of attempting to curb growing American independence.

2. Carter, C. E. 'Gt. Britain and the Illinois Country, 1763-1774' II, 135.

encouragement to the fishery, to the production of naval stores,
 and to the supply of the Sugar Islands with lumber and provisions.⁽¹⁾"

But Franklin, the great and far-sighted American statesman, although he had taken an interest in Nova Scotia lands, followed the trend of the policy with keen criticism. In private messages to his son, written in 1768, he notices the determination⁽²⁾ to abandon posts in the back country, and deprecates the smothering of the natural desire of the American colonies to expand westward, and the attempt to bolster up Nova Scotia and Georgia just because they lay on the sea-coast. He declares also in a memorial "that many principal persons in Pennsylvania, whose names and associations lie before your Majesty in Council, for the purpose of making settlements in Nova Scotia have for several years since been convinced of the impracticability of inducing settlers to remove from the middle colonies and to settle in that province; and even of those who were prevailed on to go to Nova Scotia, the greater part of them returned with great complaints against the severity and length of the winters." This protest had some effect. By the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768, the six nations ceded to the Crown whatever title they had to lands between the Ohio and the Tennessee. Reservations were formed for the Indians, and the remaining purchased lands were thrown open to settlement. In 1769, Captain William Bean, from Pittsylvania county in Virginia, built the first cabin on the Watauga, a source of the Tennessee river. Among others who followed was

1. Hillsborough to Gage, July 31st, 1770. (Basye, 180.).
2. Franklin's Works, IV. 136, 145. March 13th, 1768.

(1)
Daniel Boone. In June of the same year the first step in the Vandalia scheme was taken. A draft of the Royal grant was ready for execution in the spring of 1775. By 1776, twenty-five thousand persons were said to be living west of the mountains.

The activity of the land companies in Nova Scotia after the Peace of Parisⁱ, and the generosity with which they were treated by the government, ~~are~~^{is} therefore to be explained by ~~the~~^{the} western policy of the British government. It will be noticed that the era of special American interest ^{in Nova Scotia lands} corresponds fairly accurately to the period between the proclamation of the "Western Line" and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix.

1. Howard.

2. The Revolution prevented this and other schemes from maturing, (Alden, G. H. 'New Governments' Ch. II; Winsor, 'Westward Movement', 46-62).

CHAPTER SEVEN

SETTLEMENT FROM BRITAIN. MINOR SETTLEMENTS

Geographical factors determined, to a large extent, the location of settlements in the first two phases ~~of~~ the initial period of colonization in Nova Scotia under British rule.

Halifax and Lunenburg were chosen for their harbours and their accessibility to vessels cruising the southern coast. The

New Englanders settled on the south coast of Nova Scotia, on the shores of the Bay of Fundy, and up the St. John River, because those regions lay nearest to their old homes. In the

Geographical
factors in
settlement.

following description of the location

of English settlers from Yorkshire in

Cumberland county, and Highland Scotch

in the Island of St. John and at Pictou, geographical factors will be seen to have played their part again, in determining the choice of these areas for settlement. As the western part of Nova Scotia was the nearest part of the province to the old colonies of America, so the north-eastern shore lay nearest to Europe. This proximity was one reason why the Scotch settled in the Island of St. John, and in the more eastern sections of the peninsula of Nova Scotia. At the present time a line may be drawn north and south through the province clearly dividing the districts settled from the side of Europe from those settled from the side of America.

Cumberland, the Island of St. John, and Pictou were occupied about the same time. This forms the third and final phase of the first period, and introduced a new and important element into

the population hitherto preponderantly American in origin. When the influx from New England ceased, and when revolutionary sentiment was beginning to break out, it was an important matter that the north-eastern parts should have received these immigrants from Britain. The Highlanders and the Yorkshiremen came when Nova Scotia had to decide between allegiance to the British flag or alliance with the rebels to the south.

I. The Island of St. John.

This island had been a store-house of provision for the garrison at Louisbourg during the French regime. On the expulsion of the Acadians from the peninsula of Nova Scotia many took refuge there. Along with Isle Royale, it became British territory when Louisbourg fell. By a royal proclamation on the 7th of October 1763, both 'Isle Royale' and 'Isle St. Jean' were annexed to Nova Scotia, their names being changed to Cape Breton Island and the Island of St. John, respectively. In 1769 the Island of St. John was erected into a separate government; but in 1784 it was again annexed to Nova Scotia, and given a Lieut-governor, so that the story of its settlement in the eighteenth century is closely related to that of the mainland. By a local act in 1799 the name "Island of St. John" was changed to "Prince Edward Island."

It was twenty years after the founding of Halifax before the first English-speaking and Protestant settlers arrived. Prolonged

Land on the
island granted
in one day.

occupation by Acadian refugees, and the
grasping proposals which Lord Egmont

made after the Peace of Paris, had
occasioned the delay. Lord Egmont wished the whole Island to be

(1)

deeded to himself. The Lords of Trade refused his request.

On March, 1764, the Lords of Trade ordered the Island to be surveyed

In 1767, as already indicated in chapter five, by a scarcely less sweeping action than that suggested by Lord Egmont "the whole soil of the Island, with some inconsiderable exceptions, was granted by the home government in sixty-seven townships of about twenty thousand acres each to individuals supposed to possess a claim upon it, chiefly officers of the army and navy who had served in the preceding war."⁽²⁾

Of all the prodigal grants made in Nova Scotia the wholesale surrender of land in the Island of St. John was the most irresponsible and led to the most disastrous results. It had ill effects from the

beginning. A landlord and tenant system was maintained for decades and indeed remained a hindrance to progress for a hundred years. In the first place little or no attempt was made by the proprietors to fulfill the conditions on which the grants had been formally made to them. By the terms of their grants, lots were to be settled within ten years, at least one person to every two hundred acres. Few settlers were sent out. To the majority of these proprietors in England their possessions on the Island of St. John were of little concern. The whole island having been granted away, there was no room left even for squatters who might become free-holders. The expenses of administration were to have been provided for out of the quit-rents. But most of the grantees paid no quit-rents.

1. Warburton, A. B., 'History of P. E. I.', 118.

2. Patterson, 'Life of MacGregor', 208. The allotments were made by ballot in London on July 23rd, in the presence of the Board of Trade; Lot 66 being reserved for the King. (Campbell, D 'History of P. E. I.' 4).

Thus all these requirements had to be met by the Crown.

Under Governor Francklin, Charlottetown was laid out as the capital of the Island in May, 1768. Temporary lodgements were erected for the officers of the government; and these persons formed the first English-speaking and Protestant settlement. Georgetown and Princetown were also surveyed. Progress is shown in the reports sent out from year to year. When the government officials arrived in 1768 they found sixty-eight persons who were English-speaking. Some of these were settlers placed by grantees; others had located without any authority.⁽¹⁾ When Lieut.-Governor Patterson arrived on August 30th, 1770, he found only one hundred and fifty families who were not Acadians, and five resident proprietors. The proprietors who resided in England made very little effort themselves to add to these numbers. They not only showed a general indifference to fulfilling the conditions of their grants, but one of the chief obstacles to the advance of the country was the tenacity with which they held on to the land they did settle. In general, they refused to give any freehold titles. If they did agree to sell, it was at a price too high for the ordinary settler to meet. They commonly gave lease-holds; and with these the great mass of the farmers on Prince Edward Island to the middle of the next century were forced to remain satisfied.

1. Francklin to Hillsborough, July 31st, 1768, a list of inhabitants of the Island of St. John to July 1st, 1768; signed and dated at Charlottetown, July 21st, by J. Deschamps. (P.E.I., "A" series). Most important of these were the families of Sergeant Webster at Fort Amherst, and of Clarke at Tryon River. Pollard, who mentions these persons, states also that a party of soldiers disbanded from Colonel Fraser's Highland Regiment were the first to settle. (Pollard, J. B. 'Historical Sketch of Prince Edward Island;' 29).

The proprietors in Scotland did the most for the settlement of estates on the island. Three things account for this: the

The Highland
immigration:
Its causes.

fact that some of the proprietors were
officers in Highland regiments who had
seen service in Canada; the economic

condition of the Highlands; and religious oppression by
Protestants in some Catholic districts. A Scottish character was
given the Island which was never lost; and, in spite of the
regulations, a permanent colony of Scottish Catholics was
(1)
planted there. Over-population and high rents in the Highlands
(2)
were driving many at this date to America.

1. A provision of the grants was "that the settlers introduced be Protestants." Another condition was "that the settlers be from parts of Europe not within His Majesty's dominions." This provision was probably inserted because landlords in Great Britain and in Ireland objected to the enticing of their tenants to America. The proprietors of the island circumvented this provision as they did the others. (Pownal, Under Sec^y of State to Lt. Gov. Desbrisay, Nov. 1773, P. E. I. "A" series).

2. The following notes on the extent and causes of the Highland emigration to America in the latter part of the eighteenth century have been taken for the most part, from an unpublished thesis on the economic condition of the Highlands, by D. Sinclair: Scotland sent even more persons than Ireland or England at this time to America (Gentleman's Magazine for 1774, vol. 44, 332; also Annual Register). "In the twelve years preceding the American War of Independence some 20,000 Highlanders, including many of the larger tacksmen, left their homes for the New World. From 1760-1783, 30,000 Highlanders are said to have emigrated." (Knox, 'View of the British Empire, 1785, 120). Between 1772 and 1791, 4,000 were believed to have emigrated from Skye. When Dr. Johnson visited the Hebrides in 1773 he found there 'an epidemic fury for emigration.' The causes were, first, over-population, due to the clan system, which was at its height in 1745. "The consequence and safety of the Highland proprietors consisted in the extent of population on their estates. As a result, they divided the property so finely that the crofters could not live on their small patches of land. These crofts were often sub-divided by the occupants to make room for a son or daughter who had married. Of the various solutions offered for this problem of over-population, emigration showed the only prospect of permanent success." A great rise^{in rents} occurred in the later years of the 18th century, because of improvements in cultivation, profits from black cattle and sheep, and payment in money instead of in kind.

Those who came to the Island of St. John were from the Western
(1)
Highlands largely; the Catholics coming from the Hebrides.

Sir James Montgomery, (Lord Advocate of Scotland) and Captain
John MacDonald of Glenaladale and his brother, took a prominent
part. Montgomery and Stewart brought one hundred and twenty
(2)
families in the summer of 1770 to Cove Head and Three Rivers.

In 1771 seventeen families were brought by Captain MacDonald
(3)
to his Tracadie estate, and a few families were introduced by the
proprietor of Lot 18. Seventy families arrived at Malpeque the
same year. Lieut.-Governor Patterson also brought nine families
to his lot near Charlottetown. In 1771 a still further settlement

continued:

By the year 1770 it is estimated that many Highland estates were
furnishing five or six times the amount of rent paid in 1700.
"This was advantageous to the proprietors: but to many of the tacks-
men and superior tenants it was a hardship. They could not pay
the increased rents, and so they emigrated."

1. "About 1765 South Uist became the scene of religious troubles.
Alastair Mot McDonald, Laird of Boisdale, endeavored to force
his tenants to become Protestant. At last, sometime before
Whitsunday, 1770, he notified them that he had taken his final
resolution. They must promise under oath, 'never more to go to
a priest, or to allow their children to be brought up other than
Protestant'. John McDonald, Laird of Glenaladale had brought
land on the Island of St. John. He offered them an asylum there.
Money was raised for them in London. In May, 1772, the first
emigrant ship sailed. Among them was Rev. James McDonald,
missionary priest to the exiles. The settlers prospered, soon
paying off their passage money." (Abridged from Gillis, R.
'Stray Leaves from Highland History').

2. Governor Patterson to the Earl of Hillsborough, Oct. 1770,
(P. E. I., A. 1, 155, 195, 196).

3. Chief Justice Duport to Lord Hillsborough, Sept. 1771,
(Warburton, 165).

Chief Justice Duport to Lord Hillsborough, Oct. 15th, 1771,
(Warburton, 165).

from Argyleshire took place on the west side of Richmond Bay. In 1772 a few more located at Princetown. By 1773 MacDonald had increased the numbers of his Tracadie estate to three hundred. Small settlements at New London, Rustico, and at Elliot River were begun. By 1775 some were to be found at Cove Head, St. Peter's, a few from Morayshire at Cavendish, and a number from Dumfries at or near Georgetown. (1)

The above are all the arrivals of settlers on the Island that can be traced before the out-break of the war. Great privations were experienced. Several almost perished with hunger. Supplies had granted to some for two years. When these were exhausted they went away. (2) So great was the desire to leave that a law was passed by the Lt. Governor-in-Council stating that 'masters carrying persons from the island must have a license to do so'. (3) Conditions remained unimproved until the close of the American war brought a new era of settlement.

2. PICTOU

Closely associated with the above mentioned settlements on the Island of St. John, there was established on the mainland a colony of Highland Scotch that had great significance for the future settlement of the eastern districts. Until 1773 the main stream of Highland emigration swept past the peninsula and flowed to the colonies of America further south. One ship-load of Highlanders, however, among the many sailing to South Carolina and other points

1. Patterson, 'Life of MacGregor,' 209.
2. Warburton, 282.
3. "An Act prohibiting all masters of ships or vessels, or any other persons from transporting persons from the Island, without a Pass" (Acts of the General Assembly of P. E. I., ch. X, 1773).

along the Atlantic sea-board was diverted in 1773 to Pictou where, a few years before, a Philadelphia company had secured lands and had introduced half-a-dozen families of settlers.⁽¹⁾ Pagan and Witherspoon had now succeeded to the rights of the older Philadelphia company. Pagan was a merchant of Greenock; Witherspoon was the later famous president of Princetown. These gentlemen had engaged to bring to America Highlanders whom they secured by means of their agent, James Ross,⁽²⁾ and whom they shipped in a vessel called the "Hector." The "Hector" brought Highlanders to Boston in 1770;⁽³⁾ and sailing from Loch Broom, Ross-shire, brought thirty-three families or one hundred and eighty persons from Inverness and Sutherlandshire to Pictou, landing them there on September 15th,⁽⁴⁾ 1773.

The fortunes of these settlers varied greatly at first. They could not secure titles to their lands for ten years, until the large grants previously made to Colonel McNutt and others were escheated. Provision was so scarce that many left almost immediately for Londonderry, Halifax, Windsor, and Cornwallis. These nearly all returned subsequently to Pictou. Thirteen

1. See page 83.

2. Campbell, W., 'The Scotsman in Canada', 95.

3. Patterson, 'History of The County of Pictou', 80.

4. One or two Scotch families settling at Argyle, near Yarmouth in 1766-67, and two or three families at Annapolis in 1774, are the only instances of Scotch settling in Nova Scotia, apart from the settlements on the Island of St. John and at Pictou, before the Revolution.

Dumfriesshire families, who had landed on the Island of St. John, removed there also in 1776. During the American war, Pictou maintained a sufficient number of families to return a member to the Provincial Assembly. ⁽¹⁾ The significance of the arrival of the "Hector" settlers is not to be gauged by the smallness of the settlement. All the Scottish settlements made in the eastern parts of the peninsula of Nova Scotia at the beginning of the next century may be said to have originated in the coming of this ship.

3. CUMBERLAND

Englishmen from Yorkshire to Cumberland County completed the settlement of the eastern and northern portions of the province, prior to the American Revolution. The migration from

Character of
the Yorkshire
Settlers.

Yorkshire is contemporaneous with the two migrations from Scotland noted above, beginning about the same year,

1772. But in several ways the Yorkshire settlers were to be distinguished from all others in the province. In contrast to the desperate poverty of the Highlanders, and the dependence upon bounty of many of the New Englanders, the Yorkshiremen, for the most part tenant farmers in their old homes, were independent. As a rule, they did not receive grants from the government, nor did they become grantees of a company of Proprietors, but purchased their farms from the New England settlers, who were beginning to remove from the province. In this way the Yorkshire settlers were confined to no definite districts, as they would

have been by grants, but were scattered over a large part of the county. In contrast to the American settlers, the loyalty of the Yorkshire settlers to Great Britain was conspicuous. They occupied a key position at the entering in of Nova Scotia, and were a strong factor in preserving Nova Scotia to the British crown during the war, when the American settlers round about them took the rebel side. The arrival of the Yorkshire settlers had another effect as well. They were the first body of Englishmen of any size to make their homes in the province since the landing of Cornwallis' settlers at Halifax. At Chignecto they were well satisfied with their rich farms; and many letters written home to England removed from the English mind the idea hitherto held that Nova Scotia was a cold, barren, and inhospitable country.

Their introduction was partly due to the personal enterprise of Governor Franklin, who at the invitation of the Duke of Rutland went to Yorkshire in 1771. Many of the settlers were from the

Causes of their
emigration

Duke's estates. They removed because
of the general depression and lack of
employment in England following the
Seven Years war and because of the low wages received by day-laborers, and the impossibility of small farmers ever obtaining
(2)
a right of free-hold. A column in the list of each ship-load sent to Nova Scotia, filled in at the point of embarkation, gives in each case the private reasons for departure. The following are entries repeated several times: "to seek a better livelihood";

1. Milner, 40.

2. Trevelyan, remarks on the social tyranny of the squires in the country-side. He says of the period "the laws of England closely limited the power of those who governed the state,... but there was nothing to limit the social power of the landed gentry, Whig and Tory, together." (Trevelyan, 'History of England,' 512).

"the great advance in rents"; "all necessities of life being so dear"; "to join their friends"; "in expectation of better employment" and, a reason given by many, "having made a purchase."

The first ship to arrive was the "Duke of York", which sailed from Liverpool on March 16, 1772. Sixty-two of her passengers came by schooner to Chignecto and landed at Fort Cumberland on the 21st of May. Another party arrived in the spring of 1773. During 1773 and 1774 other vessels brought emigrants from Yorkshire to Nova Scotia. A few of these went to Hants and to Kings County, but the majority of them settled in Cumberland. On May 10th the ship "Albion," which had sailed from Hull on March 14th landed that year 280 persons at Halifax. These made their way to Fort Cumberland. The sailings from north of England ports continued throughout 1775 as follows: from Hull on April 9th, the "Jenny" with 80 persons for Fort Cumberland; from Newcastle on April 24th the "Providence", via Halifax; from Poole, November 6th, the "Squirrel", with six persons. These are the sailings that can be discovered. They stopped abruptly at the commencement of the war next year; but nine vessels are said to have come in all, from 1772 to 1775, and to have brought well over one thousand settlers.

4. MINOR SETTLEMENTS

The planting of scattered out-posts from the main settlements described in the foregoing chapters went on continuously from their foundation. A catalogue of out-settlements and of other small independent ^{centres, is necessary to make the} survey prior to the American Revolution complete. The New Englanders formed many out-settlements. They, to a

greater extent than the other settlers, were dominated by the

Catalogue of
out-settlements,
trading estab-
lishments, and
fishing camps.

pioneering spirit. Ganong says, "they
were bold, enterprising, adaptable, and
they extended far into the wilderness or
upon solitary lands with no fear and

little loneliness. They had little attachment to the soil and
moved without hesitation to more promising localities. These
characteristics, combined with their occupations, acted
dispersively upon the settlements, making them small and
scattered, rather than compact and centralized." In the northern
and western part of Nova Scotia, as it was bounded before the
Revolution, as well as on the peninsula, these scattered out-posts
appeared; with trading establishments and centres of the fishery.
An enumeration of these smaller settlements, located chiefly
along the shores, is best obtained by commencing with the extreme
western frontier; then by taking the most northerly points in
succession; and finally by following the southern coast.

As early as 1760 there are traces of settlers from Maine
having temporary fishing-camps on the St. Croix. In the spring
of 1763 sixteen persons from Scarborough arrived at Machias, in

On the Western
frontier

Maine, and applied to the government of
Nova Scotia for a grant near the boundary
of that province. They were successful

in 1770; but by that time their camps lay all along the coast to
Passamaquoddy Bay. Within a few years, settlers' cabins and
fishing camps appeared along the north shore of the Bay of Fundy
still further to the east. These extended beyond Portland Point
at the mouth of the St. John River, already noted as the site of

a trading establishment; for a proclamation regarding Import and Excise given on February 29th, 1774, refers to "all settlements from Point La Proc to Quaco Head."⁽¹⁾ The islands in Passamaquoddy Bay were looked on early as the possible homes of settlers. Some New Englanders came annually from Portland to cut wild hay on Grant Manan.⁽²⁾ Three families resided on the island at the out-break of the war. Those who were to be its permanent settlers did not come until its close. The principal attempt at actual settlement in this region took place on the island of Campobello, which was granted in 1767 to Captain William Owen, R. N. On June 4th, 1770 he arrived with thirty tenants to be placed on his lands, and to become members of his establishment. These followers were from Warrington, England, and came as indentured servants. The settlement was named "New Warrington." Soon after 1771 the settlers returned in a body to England; but the island is interesting because it remained for a hundred years an estate, owned by the heirs of the company of sixteen Liverpool merchants together with whom Captain Owen obtained the grant; and because it was thus the only one in later years in New Brunswick that fulfilled in part the original intention of its owners.

On the River St. John, very few additions before 1770 were made to the original population either at Maugerville or at Portland Point. In 1768 the troops were withdrawn from Fort Frederick, as they were from other military posts in the province, and were sent to Boston to quell the mob.⁽³⁾

1. Nova Scotia Gazette and Chronicle, 1774, February 20th.
2. N. B. H. S., I, 195.
3. Letter of Simonds, July 25th, 1768. (Raymond, 387). Among the few families were those of Erabtree, Atherton, Major Studholme, and Benj. Glasier.

Accurate and detailed reports made in 1783 reveal that for ten years before the close of the war persons had been crossing over the Bay of Fundy from the western part of the peninsula of Nova Scotia and settling in the districts called Sunbury and Conway.⁽¹⁾ Further up the river, the chief industrial development of these later years, and one that required the presence of numerous workmen, was 'masting' operations carried on in the immense and unbroken pine forests which bordered the upper reaches; for the River St. John provided most of the masts for the Royal Navy after the supply from New Hampshire and Maine had been cut off by the war.⁽²⁾

The first settlements on the extreme northern frontier of Nova Scotia, along the great rivers of the northern part of the present province of New Brunswick, and On the Northern Frontier on the south side of Bay Chaleur, began as trading posts and fishing stations.

The first reference is to a post established by Commodore Walker at Alston Point, near the modern town of Bathurst. In 1764 William Davidson, John Cort and Co., of Aberdeen began lumbering and fishing operations at Wilson's Point on the Miramichi. The⁽³⁾

1. Report to Major G. Studholme, Fort Howe, June 30th, 1783 (Sunbury County Documents, N.B.H.S., I, 101): Population of Sunbury Township, 436; Conway, 461. Burton, Gage, Newtown, and Amesbury are apparently included in this estimate. An independent source gives the population of all the townships on the St. John outside of Maugerville, and exclusive of French inhabitants, as 531 (Morris Report, May 21, 1774). A return of settlement at the mouth of the St. John, made by James Simonds, August 1st, 1775 (Raymond, 407) gives the east side 70 inhabitants, and the west side, 72. The entire English speaking population on the St. John River townships prior to 1783 appears to have been about 1400. It is stated that these, with three or four exceptions, were Americans. (Hannay, 78).

2. Among the pioneer lumbermen were William Hazing, James White, Sir Andrew Snape Hammond; John Anderson, Captain Isaac Caton; and James Woodman (Selections from the papers and correspondence of James White, Esq., 1762-1783, Raymond). cf, also Raymond, 'River St. John' 306, 482). (3) Hannay, 170; Raymond, 478

families of these men, and of some thirty workmen who came from Scotland to cure salmon there, formed the first settlement of any size in the northern wastes. The settlement of the Restigouche began about 1775, when Shoolbred and Smith, two English traders, established a salmon fishery at the head of the (1) tide near the present town of Campbellton. Many Scotch families crossed over from the Island of St. John, having found it impossible to subsist there after their first supplies had been consumed. With the exception of a few additional families who came about the close of the war to Athol Point, there are no further references of any settlers in the northern limits of the province.

Following now along the northern shore of the peninsula of Nova Scotia, two small settlements took root in the closing years of the period. Colonel Desbarres in 1763 obtained a grant at Tatamagouche. Eleven families removed from Lunenburg in 1771 (2) to settle there as his tenants. These families were of Swiss origin. Already

On the North shore of the peninsula.

at this point the government had established a post as a means of communication with its offices (3) at Charlottetown. In 1785 four families left Tatamagouche and (4) began the settlement of River John.

1. "Canada and its Provinces, XIII, 130
2. Pte. Patterson, 'History of Tatamagouche' (P. A. of C.)
3. Moreau and Engineer Ness "of Tatamagouche" reported at Charlottetown in October 1768, (Warburton 140)
4. Patterson, 'County of Pictou,' 130.

That the whole of the Island of Cape Breton should be practically barren of English-speaking and Protestant settlement during the period here discussed seems remarkable; but this was the case. Two reasons, apart from Cape Breton its inhospitable climate endured by British troops during the siege of Louisbourg, account for this condition. One was its vague relation to the government at Halifax; and the other, the restrictions imposed by the Imperial government on the working of its mines. Cape Breton was annexed to Nova Scotia by Royal Proclamation in 1763; separated in 1784; and reunited in 1820. After 1763, however, its status was not clear. Because of this uncertainty, it never really came under the jurisdiction of the government at Halifax. It is declared to have been erected into a separate county in 1765; and to have been regarded, for administrative purposes, as a part of Halifax County. Writs for election were issued; but on April 2nd, 1770, the House of Assembly at Halifax passed a resolution "that Cape Breton be deemed to be represented by the members returned from Halifax County," because (1) there were no free-holders resident on the island. This announcement throws light on the state of the population; and is confirmed by a statement of Governor Wilmot, who made a fruitless inquiry in July, 1765, "whether there be a sufficiency of people for making a jury to be summoned to Louisbourg to try a man for murder." Not one freeholder properly qualified could be discovered on the island.

1. Brown, R. 'A History of the Island of Cape Breton', 360. M. II, 490. Also, Case M. 547, N. S. "A" series.

The barren condition of Cape Breton was due in the main to the policy of the Home Government. At first, Louisbourg, which was dismantled in 1760, remained a British military station until 1768. In 1767, 142 houses were reported standing, but only thirteen in good repair. Twenty-six English speaking persons are declared to have been resident there on August 10th. But in the years when land was being granted so liberally in the Island of St. John and on the mainland of Nova Scotia, all applications for grants on the Island of Cape Breton were refused. Even 'bona fide' inhabitants about the fort at Louisbourg could get no title to the lands they had improved. The restraint on settlement can be traced to one persisting cause. From the time that coal had first been discovered on the island at Spanish River the government had been afraid of possible competition with manufacturers in England. Throughout the eighteenth century, after Cape Breton came under the British flag, a close watch was kept on the mines, the Governor of Nova Scotia alone being entrusted with the granting of licenses. (1) Smuggling resulted; nevertheless the government successfully maintained its policy of keeping these regions barren of settlement until the coming of the Loyalists.

The sum of existing settlements in the period outside Louisbourg may be easily stated. In 1764 at Isle Madame, and in 1770 at Cheticamp, merchants from the Isle of Jersey set up fishing

1. A letter: Governor Franklin to Lord Hillsborough, Aug. 29, 1768.
 " " Lord William Campbell to Lord Hillsborough (Scots Magazine for June, 1768). The population of Louisbourg is described as "a composition of the dregs of the English and French garrisons."
2. A Proclamation by Lord William Campbell, Governor of Nova Scotia, forbidding anyone from taking away Spanish River coals without a license, appeared in the Philadelphia Chronicle for May 11, 18th, 1767.

(1)
 establishments. A return to Governor Legge on October 10, 1774,
 shows English-speaking residents at Mainadieu, LaBrador, Baliene,
 (2)
 Mira, and Gabarus.

Returning along the south shore of the peninsula of Nova
 Scotia some new settlements appear. Canso, the old New England
 fishing Station, was considered a part of Halifax County, in 1759,
 and was erected into the township of
 On the South Shore Wilmot in 1764, but its permanent population
 in later years seems to have been largely
 Acadian. Tor Bay, West of Canso, held a few families. Ship
 Harbor is noticed in a return of Justices of the Peace. (3) On
 August 15th, 1769, the Earl of Egmont advertised for settlers for
 (4) his lands at Jeddore. About this time, a return of out-settlements
 near the city of Halifax mentions a few residents at Sambro, St.
 Margaret's Bay, and at Cross Island. In the diary of John Seccombe,
 certain islands at Chester Basin and in other parts of Mahone Bay
 are referred to as the property of individuals. They were therefore
 possibly inhabited. Several fishermen, west countrymen from
 England, had already begun the settlement of Blandford, on St.
 Margaret's Bay. Some German and French families removed to the
 same place from Lunenburg in 1783. Port Roseway continued to
 attract plans of settlement, after McNutt's schemes had fallen

1. Johnston, 191
2. 509 are stated as of English origin, of whom 327 were Protestants.
3. M. III, 23.
4. N. S. Chronicle, 1769.

through, but there is no evidence that they were followed
(1)
up.

This survey completed the list of shore settlements. In the interior one region remains to be referred to. Francklin's manor at River Hebert at the upper end of the Minudie marshes (2) was well tenanted before the out-break of the war. At the head of the 'River Bare', Francklin also settled two English families, who kept taverns for the convenience of (3) passengers going to Cumberland.

1. Simeon Perkins in his diary records that on October 15th 1767, "Two gentlemen from Liverpool looked at Port Roseway with a design to purchase and to bring settlers from England;" and later states that a schooner from Nantucket with several gentlemen on board had come to Liverpool, Nova Scotia, looking for a place to settle fifty families, and that they had "preferred Port Roseway."

2. Milner, 45.

3. Robinson, J. (York. 1774) 'A Journey through Nova Scotia.'

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

In spite of the introduction of settlers from Europe and the growth of out-settlement detailed in the last chapter, from (1)
1772 the population of Nova Scotia shows a decline.

The opening up of their own western lands, reluctance to live in a colony so directly under the authority of the crown, and the actual commencement of hostilities brought to an end the

Decline in
population
and trade.

'Pre-Loyalist' movement to Nova Scotia from New England. The tide ebbed instead of flowing. Great numbers returned to (2)
their old homes. The opening years of

the war brought hard times as well as a depleted population. "I think that Liverpool is going to decay and it may be many years before it is more than a fishing village," wrote Simeon Perkins in 1773. The statement may be taken as true for all the south shore settlements from Yarmouth to Chester. As the conflict became more bitter, the condition of these exposed shore settle-

1. The decline in population can be traced from the following census returns (Canadian Census, 1870-71, Vol. IV): 1762-8,104; 1763 - 9,000; 1764 - 9,988; 1765 - 9,789; 1767 - 11,679; 1772 - 17,000; 1781 - 12,000; 1784 - 32,000.

2. The return movement of the New Englanders began early. Many farms are advertised for sale in the Chronicle for 1769. A specially large number are advertised in the Gazette and Weekly Chronicle, Sept. 20th, 1774.

The Nantucket Quakers left Cape Sable Island, Barrington, for their old homes in 1775 (Crowell, 173): In 1778 Chebogue lost more than twenty families (Chebogue Church Records): 61 men fled from Cumberland County to Maine in 1776 ("Colonel Eddy's Statement," published, 1785): "The Americans, for the most part, having quitted the colony, are gone to their respective countries" (MS, Legislative Library, Hal. 219): in 1781 only 12,000 inhabitants remained (Haliburton).

Morse's Report, 1784, gives the numbers of the remainder (called "Bluenoses" by the Loyalists) at 14,000.

ments grew more wretched. Generally, trade with the colonies to the south ceased. Privateers robbed the unprotected settlers of everything worth carrying off. The call for men for militia regiments drained the land of industrious laborers, and so increased the scarcity of provisions. Simeon Perkins writes: "The people are in poor circumstances. Everything needful is very high. Three-quarters of the inhabitants are out of bread and meat, and there is not one basket of grain to be sold." Rev. Mr. De La Roche, the Society's missionary at Lunenburg writing in 1778 says "I am in great distress. Food I have barely."

It is not within the scope of this essay to describe how conditions became normal at the close of the war, or to indicate the extent of the great Loyalist invasion. The present study of settlements made in Nova Scotia terminates with the American war. In 1776 took place the evacuation of Boston by the British forces under Howe. A great many of its citizens abandoned their homes at the same time; and many came to Halifax. Howe's fleet of three men-of-war and one hundred transports arrived in the harbour on April 1st. The population of Halifax was doubled by this event; and it does not appear that many of these refugees left Halifax to seek homes in the country until the end of the war. In 1783 the Loyalists began to arrive in strength. They came in such vast numbers to the St. John River that it was proposed to form a new province, to suit their demands, out of the northern part of Nova Scotia. In March, 1784, the English Cabinet decided to "set off that part of Nova Scotia north of the Bay of Fundy into a province to be called 'New Ireland.'"

The name was changed a few weeks later to "New Brunswick", as a compliment to the reigning House of Brunswick.

With these arrivals and these changes in territorial
(1)
boundaries, in character of population, and in government, a new era in the history of Nova Scotia begins.

1. Evolution of the lesser boundaries within the province, county and township, may be traced on the maps accompanying this volume, under separate cover. On August 17th, 1759, Nova Scotia was divided for the first time into counties. There were five: Annapolis, Kings, Cumberland, Lunenburg, and Halifax. All north of Kings County was to be regarded as the County of Cumberland. On April 30th, 1765, St. John's River was erected into the County of Sunbury, but no boundary was drawn between it and Cumberland County until May 24th, 1770. No further lines were drawn in the north until 1785. In 1762 part of Lunenburg County was set aside as Queens County. In 1781 the townships of Windsor, Falmouth, and Newport, were made into Hants County. Shelburne was set off as a separate county on the arrival of the Loyalists in 1784.

PART TWO

CHURCHES.

CHAPTER ONE. INTRODUCTORY

The Protestant churches in Nova Scotia grew out of the settlements. These have been described in Part One; and only by so tracing the arrival of bands of immigrants, describing their location, and noting the causes that brought them from their homeland could an adequate survey have been made of the soil in which the churches took root. The main contention of the present essay, linking together Part One and Part Two, is that in the general colonization of the country home churches were automatically transplanted to Nova Scotia, and that habitual forms of worship and of church government prevailed in the new settlements.

To follow closely this relationship between churches and settlements is the chief aim of Part Two. Minor tasks are to discover what other factors explain the origin of churches and made one more prominent than another; to describe leading missionary influences; to point out how state privileges favored the growth of one communion and hindered that of another; to show how the American revolution destroyed the Congregational church; and finally, to refer briefly to the only major revival movement in Nova Scotia during these early years that succeeded in changing permanently the alignment of churches with the original settlements. Throughout the study it will be found that these later considerations, while helping to explain the origin and growth of Protestant churches in Nova Scotia, do not obscure the broad fact that the church of each settlement is accounted for,

first of all, by the type and previous religious connections of its settlers.

Part One has revealed how clear cut are the limits of the period of settlement here studied. The first period of settlement in Nova Scotia under British rule is very definitely brought

Limits of the period sharply defined.

to an end by the out-break of the American war. A corresponding change took place in the life of the Protestant (1) churches of the province. The Dissenting

churches were principally affected. The period prior to 1786, is marked by a favorable attitude on the part of the government toward Dissenters, by friendly relations between the Dissenting churches and the Church of England, and by strong affiliations between the Congregational and Presbyterian churches. In the succeeding period, the Congregational Church almost disappears from view; the Presbyterian church begins its own independent existence; and relations between the government and the Established church, on the one hand, and the Dissenters on the other, become less

1. A series of events shows that, after 1783, all churches in the province made a new beginning: 1783 was marked by the death of Henry Alline, who laid the foundation of the Baptist Church in Nova Scotia. First steps toward the emancipation of the Catholics were taken in 1784. The first Roman Catholic church was erected in Halifax in that year. In 1784, St. Matthew's, Halifax, (till this time Congregational), was constituted a Presbyterian Church. In 1786 the Methodists opened their first church in Halifax. That year also saw the first meeting of a Presbytery in Canada, at Truro; and the first meeting of the Methodist Conference in the Maritime Provinces. In 1786 James MacGregor, noted Presbyterian missionary, began his work. In the next year, 1787, Charles Inglis was consecrated first Bishop of Nova Scotia, and Kings College was founded.

cordial. The war produced a sharp antagonism between these forces. When it closed, all Dissenters in Nova Scotia lay under suspicion of disloyalty because of their sympathetic attitude toward the rebels. The new regime after the peace was in political colour strongly Tory, due to the presence of so many Loyalists, and was indulgent toward the Church of England. Generally speaking, the next period, in its first years at least, shows none of that co-operation and tolerance that marked the relations between Churchman and Dissenter before the war.

Before 1783 the most important church numerically was the Congregational Church of the New England settlers; but the church established by law was the Church of England. The Presbyterians, much less numerous than the members of the above two communions (which were scattered over the whole of the province), were confined to the city of Halifax, and to the settlements of Truro and Pictou. The Methodist Church was limited to the families of Yorkshiremen in Cumberland county. The Baptist Church could scarcely be said to have obtained a foot-hold. With the exception of one group of Quakers, no other Protestant bodies are known to have existed in the province. The story of religion for this period therefore becomes largely an account of the fortunes of the three larger bodies. While their history occupies most of the following pages, a distinction not entirely

1. For a brief account of the Acadians, their churches and missions to the Indians; and of the principal steps in the emancipation of the Catholics, see appendix I, and II.

to their favor becomes apparent. The Church of England, the Congregational church of New England, and the Presbyterian Church, were 'State' churches. These forms of the Protestant religion were all established by law in the lands of their origin. The Methodist, Baptist, and "New Light" churches, on the other hand rested solely on the effects of a religious revival. Representatives of 'State' churches in Nova Scotia failed in part to meet the needs of pioneers and frontiersmen. While missionary interest was definite and strong in some, there was elsewhere a lack of evangelical fervor. This coldness, and a formality in worship, retarded their progress in a new land. The people were ready to be swept off by revivals into the newer churches. Eventually one-half of those who lived in the back districts, and who were necessarily illiterate, abandoned the older communions which they themselves introduced into the province, in favor of a more evangelical practice better adapted to their needs.

The external features of religious life, and not theology, are studied here. The student need only be reminded that Nova Scotia reflected the double aspect of conditions elsewhere in the eighteenth century; a century in which Latitudinarianism had spread widely to the neglect of dogmatic teaching, ^{tending} ~~and~~ toward laxness in morals, but preparing the way for religious liberty; and a century which beheld the greatest revival in the history of Christianity.

Social conditions, too, closely resembled those in frontier districts of New England, where they have been fully studied, to need separate statement. Church connection was taken for granted. All religious life in the province was organized under

the orthodox communions. Privilege, even safety, depended on

membership. The church held a

Theology:
social con-
ditions.

dominant position in all communities, and
(1)

the keeping of the Lord's day was enforced
(2)

by law. Punishments were severe, according to the code then

maintained everywhere in the old land and in America. Negro

slavery existed, but to a very slight extent. Perhaps no colony
(3)

1. In Halifax it was enacted that "church-wardens and constables should once in the forenoon and once in the afternoon, in the time of divine service, walk through the town to observe and suppress all disorders and apprehend all offenders (Eaton; 'Kings County' 221). April 24th, 1789 "the grand jury of the Sessions of the peace for Hants county made a presentation that 'George Henry Monck and Mr. Nath. R. Thomas had neglected to attend divine worship for the space of three months to the evil example of society.' Nath. Thomas was fined 10 shillings" (Vernon, 193), Cf. M. II, 501, for a similar case, in July, 1771.

2. mTheft was punished by burning in the hand (the penalty for the theft of ten shillings from St. Paul's, October 31st, 1763). Lesser offences, by the stocks and whipping post (Simeon Perkin's Diary August 28th, 1767). Irregularity in social life by ducking (Simeon Perkin's Diary, October 9th, 1766). In Halifax street robberies were of frequent occurrence. An attempt was made there to regulate the sale of liquor. The settlement and country generally was noted for its consumption of West India rum. Governor Lawrence declared in 1760 that "every soldier that has come into the province has either quitted it or become a dram-seller" (Murray, N. S. H. S. XVI, 148). The following phrase, taken from the letter of a visitor to Halifax, has often been quoted: "It is the business of one part of the town to sell rum, and of the other half to drink it."

3. Slaves were held in the province, but they were not numerous, owing to the lack of men of property. Their presence is attested by numerous records of sales (Halifax Gazette, May 15, 1752; N. S. Chronicle, 1769). The right to hold slaves was upheld by the dominant churches, for a time. An act was passed on the Island of St. John declaring that 'the Baptism of slaves did not exempt them from bondage' (Warburton, March, 1781). Malachi Salter, deacon of Mather's Congregational Church, Halifax, held several (Smith, T.W. 'The Slave in Canada', N. S. H. S. X., letter to Mrs. Wood, July 1767) The records of this church for 1769 show the baptism of a negro slave by the Rev. John Seccombe, Baptism of the slaves of Captain Elijah Miles is also recorded in the parish register at Maugerville. One slave was bequeathed "for the use and benefit of the Wardens and Vestry of St. Paul's Halifax (Hallam, 'Slave Days in Canada', 79). In 1788 a fierce controversy arose among the Presbyterians concerning the morality of the Rev. Daniel Cock of ~~Tunro~~, who held two slaves, a mother and a daughter (Eaton, 'Kings Co.' 235).

in North America contained so few slaves in proportion to its white inhabitants, or was so strong in the sentiment that led to their emancipation.

CHAPTER TWO. THE CHURCHES IN RELATION TO THE
SETTLEMENTS:- I. THE ESTABLISHED
CHURCH

Several characteristics distinguish the early history of the Church of England in Nova Scotia. From the beginning it was strongest in the garrison towns. Its influence did not extend far from a military post. Its clergy were missionaries sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. It obtained great prestige from its close connection with the government and its establishment by Act of Assembly. It is due first place in a survey of Protestant churches ~~also~~ because of its early connection with the first British posts at Annapolis and Canso, and with the founding of Halifax.

The Church of England will here be discussed in its relation to the English-speaking settlers at Annapolis, Canso, and Halifax; to the Foreign Protestants; and to the New England settlements. Sections will follow considering how far the origin and growth of the Church were due to the interest of the Society; and how far they are to be explained by aid received from the government.

(1)

The capture of Port Royal took place in 1710. On October 10th, the Rev. Samuel Hesker, chaplain to Colonel Readings' ⁽¹⁾ Marines, preached a thanksgiving sermon. There is no record of an earlier Protestant service in the Annapolis English language on Canadian soil.

Independent companies of New Englanders occupied the fort, the

name of which was changed to Annapolis Royal, and the families of the soldiers and of a few merchants formed a congregation. A chaplain service was maintained with few breaks. Both missionaries and school-masters were sent out by the Society.

At Canso, (where there were reported to have been forty-nine English-speaking families resident in 1725 during the summer season, at least), application was made
Canso (1)
in 1729 to the Society for a minister.

Mr. James Peden came to them as school-master and as deputy chaplain in 1736, and remained until the place was burned by the French in 1744. There does not appear to have been any other representative of the Church stationed at Canso.

Both Annapolis and Canso, before the founding of Halifax and for at least ten years after, were served by Church of England clergymen alone. No other visiting ministers are mentioned in the annals of these places. No services are noted other than those conducted by the Society's missionaries and the chaplains to the forces. It is to be presumed that all the Protestants resident at

1. A letter of Mr. Watt to the Society (Vernon, 212). Vernon, C. W. "Bicentenary Sketches and Early Days of the Church in Nova Scotia;" Eaton, A. W. H. "The Church in Nova Scotia"; and transcripts of letters to the S. P. G., in the archives at Halifax, are the principal printed sources for this chapter.

(1)

these places were nominally attached to the Church.

(2)

The Church of England naturally dominated at Halifax; a settlement planned and administered by the Imperial authorities.

Halifax:

St. Paul's

Its history is identified for many years

with that of St. Paul's, the oldest

Protestant church in Canada. This Church was the centre of the official life of the colony; and the religious life of the city, even of the Dissenters, gathered around it.

(3)

Its foundation was laid on June 13, 1750, a year after the arrival of the transports of Cornwallis. Until the building was ready

1. The Chaplains and Missionaries of the Society at Port Royal, the date of their coming, and term of service, as far as can be determined are as follows: Rev. John Harrison, Chaplain to Commodore Martin, and Rev. Samuel Hesker, Chaplain to the Marines, were both present at the capture of the fort in 1710. Harrison remained as chaplain to the garrison. He is still found at Annapolis in 1732. His term of service may have had several breaks; for in 1716 there is a record of a baptism by Mr. Spillman, Fort Major, when there was apparently no chaplain available. Rev. Robert Cuthbert, his successor, arrived next (Council Minutes, April 29th, 1725, N. S. A. III, 99); Calnek, 'History of Annapolis', 73). The Rev. Richard Watts, sent out in 1720 as school-master, became assistant, and then full chaplain. (Council Minutes, September, 1724). The S. P. G. Reports, January 31, 1729, show Watts the only chaplain at Annapolis then. His name remains in Reports until 1738. From 1722 to 1746 there was no chaplain at the fort. Adams states that in the absence of a garrison chaplain the soldiers had their children baptized by the French priests (N. S., A.25, 175. Brebner, 159, Note 2). The buildings used by the missionaries were the French Chapel, formally made over to the Church in 1732; and a school building put up by Watts at his own expense in 1739 (Supplement to Calnek's 'History', 43.) "The Governor not only allowed the Catholics free exercise of their religion but did not prevent the English and the military officers from being present at the Catholic Services on 'jours de solemnitez'" (Brebner, 159). 88/

2. The Rectors of St. Paul's regularly returned to the Society a statement of the numbers of Church people in relation to the population of the city. The figures are high; when the character of those who came with Cornwallis is remembered, and the large number of New England Congregationalists. In 1752, Mr. Tutty reports 600 communicants; in 1755, Dec. 8th, Mr. Breynton declares "800 out of the 1300 profess to be C. of E." Apparently included in these figures are Foreign Protestants, Reformed and Lutheran, men of regiments, and vessels crews.

3. Gentlemans Magazine, 1750, 428. Knox, 'Historical Narrative' I, 50

services were held in the open air, on the parade ground amid the felled trees, on the Dartmouth side of the harbor as well, and, during the first winter, in the Governor's dining-room. By July, the frame, which was brought from New England, was in place; the first service was held in the church on September 2nd; and it was formally opened on October 29th. The design resembled Marylebone Chapel, London.

(2)

An interesting chapter in the story of the Church of England at Halifax and Lunenburg tells of its service rendered to the Foreign Protestants. These Foreign Protestants represented the two great divisions of Protestants on the continent of Europe, the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches. While this difference made itself clearer later on in the religious life of the continental

The Church and
the Foreign
Protestants.

1. Vernon, 4. 5.
2. M. II, 181.
3. N. S. H. S., I, 35.

Clergy of the Society and Chaplains at Halifax: Cornwallis brought with him two missionaries sent out by the Society, Mr. William Anwyl and Mr. William Tutty. Anwyl died on Feb. 9, 1750; Tutty in 1753. Various army and ship chaplains gave service on land in the first years. A Mr. Philips is noted as preaching at Clapham's Windmill, Dartmouth (Diary of John Thomas, N. S. H. S. I). Mr. Breynton, who became Rector of St. Paul's and 'Dr. Breynton' in 1771, had been a chaplain on board ship at Louisbourg. He arrived at Halifax in 1752, and succeeded to Mr. Tutty in 1754. The Society's missionary at Annapolis, Mr. Wood, was appointed to assist him as vicar in 1758. Mr. Wood had come from New Brunswick, New Jersey, to Halifax (letter from Mr. Breynton to the Society, Oct. 22nd, 1752). He preached a sermon in St. Paul's at the death of the King, Feb. 13th, 1761 (Aikin's 'Halifax City' 64); but after this year apparently resided at Annapolis. His house on Granville St., Halifax, was offered for sale in 1769 (N. S. Chronicle, Aug. 15th). Dr. Breynton remained alone at St. Paul's until the coming of the first Loyalist clergy.

settlers in Nova Scotia, at first the Foreign Protestants were
(1)
undivided under the ministrations of the Church of England.

At Halifax was formed among them the congregation of St. George's. Although within the jurisdiction of St. Paul's, and following the doctrinal rules of the Church of England, it did not form part of the parish; but appointed its own elders and vestry. Worship was first conducted in a private house and later in a school-house at the corner of Gerrish and Brunswick Streets. A steeple was placed on this building and it was dedicated as a
(2)
church on March 23, 1761.

When the Foreign Protestants removed from Halifax, the ministrations of the Church of England were continued to them at Lunenburg. In 1754 the Church of St. John was erected there, the frame having been brought from New England. The Church's mission at Lunenburg continued under great difficulties. The plot against the government and its quick suppression alienated some. The fact that there were a number of Swiss and French Protestants also, in addition to the Germans, made it difficult to unite them under one form of service. A division finally occurred that left the Church of England in Lunenburg with but a remnant of its former congregation of Foreign Protestants. The Reformed families withdrew from the Church of St. John in 1769, built their own church, and had one of their number ordained as their minister in 1770. The Lutherans had petitioned as early as 1759 for a minister for themselves; and Mulhenburg, 'the father of the

1. Mr. Tutty's 6th letter to the S. P. G., Nov. 4, 1751.
2. N.S.H.S., Vol. VI; 'Early History of St. George's'.

Lutheran Church in America', to whom the petition had been sent, had advised the people to remain under the ministry of the Society; nevertheless, the frame of a Lutheran Church was raised at Lunenburg on May 22nd, 1770. (1) An historian of the Church of England in Nova Scotia declares that there is not the slightest evidence to show that influence was brought to bear on the Foreign Protestants to make them conform to the Church of England; or that their dissatisfaction with the ordinances of the Church, and their building of separate Calvinist and Lutheran meeting-houses, was the result of any attempt at coercion. But it appears that there were inducements held out to the loyal among the foreign settlers to associate themselves with the Church of England; and the privileges of such a connection were apparent after the granting of representative government; for those who were admitted to the ordinances of the Church of England alone had a right to vote. (2) ?

1. Their first clergyman was the Rev. Frederick Schultz, who resigned in 1782.
2. Brebner, 261.

Missionaries of the Society, English-speaking and German, among the Foreign Protestants at Halifax and Lunenburg; Jean Baptiste Moreau, a Swiss gentleman and school-master, was appointed missionary by the Society to the Foreign Protestants (Mr. Tutty's 3rd letter to the S. P. G. July 18, 1750). Moreau had accompanied to Halifax the 500 of the Confession of Augsburg from Montbeliard. He died in 1770. Mr. Burger, a German Lutheran minister who had come with the Foreign Protestants to Halifax, went back to England for ordination, but on his return to Halifax was lost at sea. A Mr. Slater, chaplain to the troops, preached to the Foreign Protestants at Halifax in German. A German clergyman, the Rev. John Gottfried Turpel, is also mentioned in the records of St. George's. At Lunenburg the missionaries of the Society, in addition to Mr. Moreau, were the Rev. Paulus Bryzelius (formerly a Lutheran minister) who was ordained by the Bishop of London, and appointed to Lunenburg in 1766; he died in April 1773, and Rev. Mr. De La Roche, a native of Geneva, who took Mr. Moreau's place in 1771. He resided in Lunenburg until 1787. The remaining missionary at Lunenburg in this period was the Rev. Robert Vincent, appointed in 1761 to alternate with Moreau in preaching to the Germans and the French.

(3)

The Church of England did not flourish where there was no nucleus of persons previously members of its communion. In the western part of the peninsula in the area at the head of the

The Church and
the New England
Settlements.

Cobequid Bay, in the Chignecto Isthmus,
and in the valley of the St. John River,

were the settlements of New England

Congregationalists. In these places the Church might be expected to have made no progress at all. But the more thickly settled districts lay adjacent to a military post, where the company of soldiers on duty required the services of a chaplain. The Society established a chaplain at each fort and commissioned him as general missionary as well; and in this way obtained a foot-hold in the larger of the New England settlements. Disintegrating forces operating on the fortunes of the Congregational churches made the task of the Church of England missionary easier.

Services were maintained by the Church at Windsor from the year 1760. Residents on the estates of government and military officers from Halifax, and families of the men of the garrison

Windsor.
Cornwallis.

of Fort Edward, formed the congregation.

The New England townships of Horton,

Newport, and Falmouth lay close at hand.

The number of communicants reported from year to year is too few
(1)
to warrant the supposition that the Church was making progress.

1. Letter, Joseph Bennett to the S. P. G., January 4, 1763; also Hind, H. Y., 'Sketches of the Old Parish Burying Ground, Windsor, N. S.,' 8.

continued: He died in 1765. Mr. Wood visited Lunenburg in 1756. An occasional visitor was the Rev. Mr. Bennett, who conducted a coast mission, in addition to his labors at Windsor.

Mr. Bennet writes in 1771 "we have a chapel at Windsor." This is the first notice of any church building on the field. The missionary stationed at Windsor visited Cornwallis, where there were a few Church families, although not over ten are reported in (1) 1769. In 1762 some gentlemen in that vicinity organized a parish (2) and in 1770 built a church at Fox Hill. Reports to the Society reveal that a great many families were well affected toward the Church, but also that the number of communicants was few in (3) comparison with the bulk of the people.

The Society's missionary at Annapolis, Mr. Wood, was well received by the New England settlers. His first visit was made in 1753. He is notable in the annals of the Society for the success of his missions to the Mic-Mac Indians and for his translation of the scriptures into their language. He visited Annapolis at intervals until 1763; when he settled permanently there. He died in 1778. It was reported that the places of worship could not contain the number of Dissenters who came to hear him. But although there were some eight hundred families in the neighborhood up to 1774 the communicants did not exceed thirty. A church at Annapolis, begun in 1775, was completed in 1778. Two others were built on the Granville side of the Annapolis river, one at the lower end of the Granville settlement, in 1775; and one a year later

1. Letter to Andrew Elliot, Nov. 8th, 1769, (Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1888).

2. It was finished in 1776.

3. Of 1000 families in the whole area, 20 were reported Church of England in 1779 (letter of Jacob Bailey to S. P. G.)

(1)

at the upper end. This last was begun as a Congregational church, but was handed over to the Church of England because of the lack of clergymen of that denomination, and from good will to Mr. Wood.

(2)

Fort Cumberland saw a succession of army chaplains who also ministered to the surrounding district. The experience of these men was similar to that of other missionaries of the Society

laboring in districts settled by the Congregational New Englanders; many were well disposed to the Church, but few became members. The departure of Mr. Gannet, the Congregational minister, in 1773 gave Mr. Eagleson, the Society's missionary, more liberty. Mr. Eagleson also reported that his congregation was increased by the arrival of the Yorkshire settlers. This is altogether likely, as these people although followers of John Wesley, had not yet regarded themselves as separated from the Church.

Many missionary journeys were undertaken by the Society's missionaries to remote and scattered out-posts. On July 1st Rev. Mr. Wood. conducted the first religious service on the River

1. Supplement to Calnek's History of Annapolis, 43.

Missionaries of the Society at Windsor and Cornwallis: Mr. Breynton made one journey from Halifax to Windsor in 1760, and three in 1761. Mr. Wood visited Windsor in 1762 on his way to Annapolis. From 1763 to 1775 Mr. Bennet was missionary; from 1775 to 1779, Mr. Ellis. Mr. Wiswall and Mather Byles also officiated at Windsor during the years of the war. Rev. Jacob Bailey came to Cornwallis in 1779.

2. Mr. Philips, Chaplain, was at Fort Cumberland in 1755. Mr. Wood visited the Fort in June, 1752; in 1754; August 31, 1755; and in 1756. Rev. Thomas Wilkinson was stationed there in 1759; Mr. Joshua Tiffs, in 1760. The first permanent clergyman was Mr. Eagleson. He arrived in 1765, and was appointed Society's missionary at Cumberland in 1770. A staunch Loyalist, he was carried off by the rebels in 1776. On his return in 1778 he states that services were held in a borrowed mansion, thus suggesting that previously a church building had been available (letter to S.P.G. Sept. 18, 1778; Milner 53.: Vernon. 217; letter to Andrew Elliot.)

St. John, at Portland Point; and on July 9th he preached before

Out-posts

two hundred at Maugerville, baptizing

(1)

two children. He believed that the

prejudices of these people would vanish if

they received regular supply from the Church. No permanent

establishment, however, resulted from his visit. At Tatamagouche,

in 1775, the Rev. Mr. Bennet⁽²⁾ from Windsor reported twenty-eight

communicants. Mr. Bennet also visited Pictou in 1780.

At Chester there are records of marriages and baptisms in the register of St. Stephen's parish from the year 1775. It is not

probable that this place received more

The South
Shore

than a passing visit from a missionary.

At Liverpool, it was said, many were favorable to the Church, and a

mission was recommended; but nothing came of this, and Liverpool,

like the other New England settlements along the south shore was

(3)

(4)

without a Church of England congregation. Mr. Rene Cossit,

the Society's missionary to the French Indians in Cape Breton

probably preached on occasions at Louisbourg. The only missionary

1. Raymond, 'River St. John', 348, 410.

2. Patterson, 'Pictou,' 113.

3. Letters of Lt. Gov. Francklin, (Vernon, 232). Simeon Perkins mentions the preaching at Liverpool of Rev. William Doyle, an Army chaplain. (March 23, 1774).

4. After the coming of the Loyalists Mr. Cossit became first rector at Sydney.

(1)

visits to Louisbourg on record are those of an army chaplain.

When government offices were set aside at Charlottetown on the Island of St. John in 1769, an Imperial Order-in-Council made provision for a Church of England clergyman. The Rev. John

Island of
St. John

Caulfield was appointed rector of Charlottetown by Royal Warrant. He drew his salary for four years, although he remained in England. As the parish had been granted him for life he could not be regularly superseded. But his salary was cancelled, and a Mr. Grant was appointed chaplain to the governor. There is no evidence that this gentleman came to the island, either. Rev. Mr. Eagleson, of Fort Cumberland, in 1773 visited Charlottetown, St. Peters, Stanhope, Tracadie, and Malpeque; but no clergyman resided on the island until the arrival of the Rev. Theophilus DesBrisay (2) in 1775. £1000 had been voted by the Imperial government for a (3) church. It was never given; and no church building of any Protestant denomination was erected during this whole period.

(4)

A controlling factor in originating and determining the growth of the Church of England in Nova Scotia was the interest of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

1. Rev. Mr. Kneeland, Deputy Chaplain to H. M. 159th Regiment was at Louisbourg in 1766 (Letter to S. P. G. July 10th)
2. Mr. DesBrisay was appointed on Sept. 21st, 1774: he was carried off by an American privateer in 1775; and released, 1777. He died on the Island, March 14th, 1823.
3. Gov. Paterson's despatch to Lord Hillsborough, Oct. 25th, 1770 (War, Burton, 180.)

No other Protestant church in Nova Scotia had behind it the

The Societies
and the fortunes
of the Church in
America.

resources of a similar missionary
body. Its activity dates from 1710,
when General Francis Nicholson was

instructed to make inquiry after the Society's missionaries at
Port Royal. It continued throughout the century, every
episcopal clergyman in Nova Scotia, with the exception of
visiting army and navy chaplains, being supported almost entirely,
by funds at its command. For many years in the next century as
well the Society bore a considerable share of the financial
burden of the Church of England in Nova Scotia.
(1)

The introduction of the Church of England into America was
due to the Society. Organized in London in 1701, without
exception it cared for the clergy of the Church in America
throughout the colonial period.
(2) Clergymen were sent out directly,
or they were appointees of the Bishop of London; for in the
absence of an American episcopate the Bishop of London was the
nominal ruler of the Church and was represented there by a
commissary. In the more southern colonies of Maryland, Virginia,
the Carolinas, and in Georgia, (as was also the case in Nova
Scotia), the Church of England was established by law. This
favored the activities of the Society. In New England, the case
was different. Members of the Church of England were there
'Dissenters', the established church being Congregational.

1. In 1891 there were nine charges in Nova Scotia aided by the
Society.

2. In 1749 there were 63 clergy of the Society in America.

Indeed, in the earliest years Episcopal ministers had been forced to leave the country. Even in the latest years of the colonial period, only the authority of the Royal Governors gave the Church of England a foot-hold.

American historians explain why the growth of the Church in colonies was retarded. In all colonies outside of New England, with minor exceptions, the Church of England had the sympathy if not the cordial support of the executive branch of the government; but the fact that its clergy were not native to America nor trained there, hampered them and lessened their usefulness. In general, Anglican ascendancy in America was made difficult by the trend of immigration and the steady growth of other denominations which had been first on the ground. Fear that an Episcopate might be established in America through the authority of Parliament, a well-founded suspicion, aroused opposition to the work of the Society and to the clergy of the Church. It became one of the leading causes of the Revolution. All these causes influenced the work of the Society in Nova Scotia. But the very event which completely destroyed the chances of Anglican ascendancy to the south secured its ascendancy in Nova Scotia, by the coming of the Loyalists and the exiled Tory clergy.

Another important factor in promoting the growth and place of the Church in Nova Scotia was the liberal support which this denomination received from the beginning from the Home and Provincial governments. Protection was
 Government
 Aid
 early extended to the missionaries of
 the Society; the clergy at Halifax were
 made the friends and advisors of the Governor; and the Governor

and Council gave them liberal grants of land and of public
 monies for Church purposes.⁽¹⁾

The Church of England was established by one of first acts of the Assembly of 1758, which stated that it "should be the recognized form of worship among us." The proclamation of Governor Lawrence (referred to above), definitely promised that Dissenters would not be compelled to support the Church, and thus the establishment was largely nominal. Dissenters composed the greater part of the Assembly. Although they passed the Bill, they were jealous of contributing money from the provincial treasury for Church purposes.⁽²⁾ But the Parish of St. Paul's was apparently specially favored. The Parish was formed by order-in-

1. The Board of Trade authorized grants of land to the resident chaplain at Annapolis. Harrison received a grant "free of quit rent, as Glebe land forever" (M. I, 488) £70 salary was allowed each missionary that came to Halifax in 1749, with £50 gratuity; and £15 salary to each school-master, with £10 gratuity. For St. Paul's £1000 was granted in 1750; for St. John's, Lunenburg, £476. The Assembly, even if it had the will, had little power to control gifts to the Church. Dr. Breynton received as a personal gift a grant of 2000 acres on the Tusket river in 1773 (Campbell, 'Yarmouth', 67). He received £34 as inspector of the Orphan House (M. II, 519) Mr. Bennett, at Windsor, in addition to the £40 allowed him by the Lords of Trade claimed £212 for his services in 1776 and 1777 in conciliating the Indians (M. II, 595). Mr. Eagleson received £35 for his services on the Island of St. John (Vernon, 240). Personal gifts from officers of the government aided the Churches in the out-settlements. Governor Legge made a gift of handsome furniture to the Church congregation at Windsor.

2. In 1762 the Assembly refused to grant money to repair the Church of St. John, Lunenburg, and in 1780 refused £500 for a house for the rector of St. Paul's.

council in 1759. By a deed of endowment, January 4th, 1760, the Church of St. Paul's was designated as "a Royal Foundation and of Exempt Jurisdiction." Money to provide church elements, surplices, and fencing the burying ground, was appropriated by the Governor and Council, who assessed the 'inhabitants' of the Parish for £30. In 1773 the Legislature passed an act "to assess the

1. £400 raised on duty on liquors was also appropriated for St. Paul's by the Governor and Council (Aiken's 'Halifax City', 52).

Note; Schoolmasters.

At Halifax. Edward Halhead; school not opened by 1751.
Hubley, succeeded in 1754.
Ralph Sharrock
Lynch 1767-1769
Elias Jones, appointed 1770.
Broadfield, " 1773.
Peters, " 1774.
Earl Hazelsiel, to the Germans (from 1762-1784 there were school-masters to officiate at St. George's when no clergyman was present.)

At Fort Cumberland. In 1774, Porter.

At Windsor and Newport Previous to 1769, Watts.
After 1769, Haliburton.

At Annapolis Wilkie, 1764
Joseph Bass, 1772-1774.
George Barwick, 1775

At Granville Morrison, 1765-1774.
Nathaniel Fisher, 1774

At Lunenburg In 1760 - a school-master -
private, name unknown.
Bailly, (for the French children 1765.
Newman, a German, to teach English to the German children,) 1763.

(Occasionally a Missionary officiated as school-master, and received a school-master's stipend in addition to his own, e. g., Rev. Robert Vincent, M. II, 406).

parishioners for money to conduct church business." It does not appear that this tax fell on all resident within the bounds of the Parish. Functions held at the Church of St. Paul's were paid for out of the provincial treasury.

While the establishment of the Church of England in Nova Scotia was rather a guarantee of precedence and as assertion of Protestantism, than a source of revenue, (the right to tax all inhabitants being held in abeyance), yet the favor constantly shown the clergy, congregations, and schemes generally of the Church gave it a great advantage over other churches in the province.

CHAPTER THREE: THE CHURCHES IN RELATION TO THE
SETTLEMENT:- II. THE CONGREGATIONAL
CHURCH.

The Congregational Church in Nova Scotia before the American War was numerically the dominant Protestant church. Its congregations were referred to in official government documents as those of "Protestant Name. Dissenters"; or simply as "Congregations (1) of Dissenters." These titles the Congregationalists in Nova Scotia applied to themselves. The term "Congregational" does not appear to have been used. The general phrase "Protestant Dissenter" would be tacitly adopted by all, as the expression appears in Governor Lawrence's Second Proclamation, which promised freedom of worship and liberty of conscience to the settlers from New England; and also in the Act of Assembly in 1758, which established the Church of England. Congregational places of worship were called "meeting-houses", a term introduced from New England, except in the wording of government grants of land, which used the term "church."

1. 'Transactions of the Church Congregation of Dissenters in Sheffield, 1788;' 'a memorial to Governor Carleton in 1780 from 'the Dissenting Protestants in Maugerville'; 'the body of Dissenters in Maugerville'; a meeting of the 'Church and Congregation of Protestant Dissenters' May 6th, 1790; a letter written in 1814, October 24th, from Sheffield to the Rev. George Bender, Secretary of the London Missionary Society, "we, whose names are here unto subscribed, are a small society of 'Protestant Dissenters' (N.B.H.S. Vol. I, 119). These are some of the terms found in documents.

'Protestants dissenting from the Church of England..... shall have free liberty of conscience and may erect and build Meeting Houses for public worship.' (Lawrence's 2nd Proclamation, January 11th, 1759. Text in R. S. C., 1911, II, 106).

The Congregational Church in Nova Scotia was altogether the church of the New England settlers. Its numerical strength was due to their large numbers in the province, and its growth and fortunes were strictly dependent on the condition of the settlements. Nova Scotia for a while reproduced the main features of religious life in New England. The story of the Congregational Church, therefore, is a part of the larger story of the expansion of New England settlements and churches taking place at the close of the last French and Indian war.

New England had, in the beginning of its history, been an ecclesiastical preserve for the Congregational church established by law. This body was an amalgamation of the Pilgrims and the

The Congre-
gational Church
in New England.

Puritans, the two religious components of the early Massachusetts colony.

The Pilgrims, who in their former homes had been largely north country peasants,

"not acquainted with trade", but accustomed to a plain country life, were in the form of church government that they favored, 'Separatists'. The Puritans, for the most part English country gentlemen "of no inconsiderable fortune, of enlarged understanding, and of improved liberal education", held to a form of church government very close to Presbyterianism. The Puritans became the dominant element in the new colony. Accordingly, the State church of the New England colonies became a form of Congregationalism so closely related to Presbyterianism that visitors and travellers describing the life of the people failed to note the difference. This privileged form of worship and church government, which developed into a type peculiar to New England,

was most closely guarded throughout the first hundred years, to the complete exclusion of all other sects.

But by the middle of the eighteenth century tolerance toward other communions was practised in New England. The Anglican and Baptist churches gained rapidly, at the expense of the Congregational. The 'Great Awakening' and 'New Light' movements, (an American parallel to the Methodist revival in England), contributed further to its dismemberment. Toleration and religious revival, by 1760, when the New Englanders came to Nova Scotia, had divided and almost disorganized the 'State' Church of the home land. This is a fact of importance when the decline of the Congregational church in
(1)
Nova Scotia is studied.

The struggle of congregations in Nova Scotia to get upon their feet, the long unfinished condition of their places of worship, the difficulty of getting and of keeping missionary supply, are all paralleled in contemporary accounts of similar Congregational churches on the frontiers of New England. There, the growth of settlement for a while out-stripped the supply of ministers. Complaints are heard of a gradual departure from the old methods of church extension. It had been customary to organize a church and settle a pastor the same day; but now sometimes a year or more elapsed between the two events. A similar state of affairs transpired in Nova Scotia. Yet in spite

1. Yet there were some 530 Congregational churches of regular standing in New England at the time of the migration to Nova Scotia; and not less than 550 regularly ordained ministers (Ezra Stiles, 'Discourse on Christian Union', 130; Charles Chauncey 'A letter to a friend', 1767, quoted in Baldwin, 'New England Clergy and the American Revolution; note, page 8).

of the growing scarcity of men in the ministerial profession, the churches in Nova Scotia were fairly well supplied; a fact that strengthens the contention of this essay, that special circumstances made Nova Scotia then an attractive place of residence to Americans.

The temperament of the New England settlements in Nova Scotia was decidedly Puritanic and anti-Catholic. A crusading zeal against the church of Rome was maintained. The memory of Indian raids from Catholic Canada was strong. This attitude the New England Congregationalists brought with them to Nova Scotia; but the anti-Catholic spirit greatly abated in the course of a few years. Puritanism in Nova Scotia showed itself in the strict enforcement of Sabbath observance, in a prejudice against such amusements as dancing and card-playing, and in a strict adherence to sober speech. This formalism did not prevent persons of other races and communions from despising such a display of righteousness (1) as hypocrisy. These ideals and customs were transplanted from New England, and long after the organized church of the settlers had dwindled away to nothing, there was left on other communions, an imprint of Puritanism which persists to the present day.

The origin of ^{the} Congregational Church in Nova Scotia is explained wholly by settlement. No missionary society, as in the case of the Church of England, aided the planting of churches.

1. "They make great pretensions to religion and having ye form of godliness would be thought not to contradict ye power of it in their actions." (Mr. Tutty, to the S. P. G., who charges the New Englanders at Halifax with prevarication and dishonesty. "New England men, who I think of all the people upon earth I never heard so bad a character for cheating designing people and all under the cloak of religion." (Brebner, 187, quoting letter of William Steele, Sept. 22, 1750, to Viscount Sydney).

With the exception of the congregation of Mather's Meeting-House, Halifax, the Congregational churches received very little assistance from the Nova Scotia government beyond toleration.

(1)

At the founding of Halifax provision was made by the authorities for the erection of two church buildings; one, St. Paul's Church, and the other, a place of worship for the Protestant Dissenters, commonly known as 'Mather's Meeting

Mather's,
Halifax.

House.' The first, as the property of the Church of England, has already

been described. The latter was the church of the New England Congregationalists. Mather's took a leading part in the life of the city. As St. Paul's was the centre of the official life of the colony, Mather's was the the church home of the mercantile element.

The meeting house was begun almost as soon as St. Paul's. A gentleman writes in the first year of settlement "a handsome lot is laid out for a meeting-house." The land was granted by the governor and Council; and the building itself was erected at

(2)

1. McLennan refers to the preaching of the Rev. Stephen Williams at Louisbourg in 1745. (McLennan, J. S., 'Louisbourg', 170). This is the first reference to Congregational preaching in N. S.

2. Boston Weekly News Letter, April 26th, 1750; Further references to the Meeting-house may be found in the London Magazine Vol. 22; and in the News Letter for January 3rd, 1751.

(1)
public expense. This generosity was due to the fact that the building, although in possession of the Congregationalists, was regarded as meeting the needs of all the Dissenters. Until the out-break of the Revolution, Mather's was quite seven-eighths Congregational. The remainder were largely Presbyterian.

Changes in the name from 'Mather's' to 'St. Matthew's'
(2)
reflect the growth of this element. The ascendancy of the Congregationalists was brought to an end by the exodus of the New England population at the commencement of the war. A controversy arose between the Presbyterians and the remaining Congregationalists about the status of the congregation, its pulpit supply, order of worship, and name. The controversy was brought to an end in 1787 in a compromise by which the Congregationalists were satisfied with the use of Watts' hymns, and the Presbyterians, with a minister from Scotland. A year or so before this agreement, in 1776, when it was difficult to get supply from New England, a

1. Public support given to Mather's is attested by the following facts: a lot was granted for a site and one for the first minister (Description Book of 1st Town Surveyor). The first Assembly granted some £400. Commissioners appropriated out of the "spirit funds" £100, in 1758, for work on the Meeting-house. A glebe of sixty-five acres was given the congregation through the generosity of the Governor and Council in the first years of the colony. It lay on the shores of the North West Arm, and is now the property of Dalhousie University. The gift was arbitrarily revoked when the congregation was suspected of rebel sympathies during the war.

2. The Meeting-house was called 'Mather's' after the great puritan divine. It was often referred to as 'Mather's Congregational Chapel'. The official name in the earliest years seems to have been the "Protestant Dissenting Chapel" (Library Books, 1750, 1754; Baptismal Register and Bowl, 1769; Communion Cup, 1772. These relics of the period still remain). In 1784 "P. C. H." were letters used to denote 'Presbyterian Church Halifax,' very likely; at any rate, in 1786 the tokens were stamped "Pres. Ch." In 1821 the name was officially changed to "St. Matthew's Presbyterian." (Murray, W., 'History of St. Matthew's Church', N. S. H. S., XVI).

Presbyterian minister occupied the pulpit. Many Congregationalists among the Loyalists arriving that year finding this the case were dissatisfied; and being warmly welcomed by Dr. Breynton, a number became communicants of St. Paul's.

The first minister at Mather's was the Rev. Aaron Cleveland,
(1)
a graduate of Harvard. He received a call in June, 1750, and was appointed to the charge on February 1st, 1751. His stay was brief. In 1754 he went to England and was ordained a clergyman of the Church of England; but returned to the southern colonies, where he died. The pastors who succeeded him had charges throughout the province. They gave pulpit supply only. There was no settled minister until 1784.

Ten years elapsed after the establishment of the first Congregational church at Halifax before any others were organized. When the wave of New England settlement swept Nova Scotia in 1760 a number appeared simultaneously. Among the first to be

Yarmouth	formed was the group in the neighborhood
Cape Fourchu	of Yarmouth, a district formerly known
Chebogue	
Argyle	as Chebogue. These congregations

reflected more than others the divisions and disputes at that time visible in the old Congregational churches of New England.

1. Mr. Cleveland was born in Cambridge, Mass., in 1715, and graduated from Harvard in 1735. He is referred to in the Halifax Gazette for June 15th, 1754; his family, in the Crown Land Office records, 1749-1752. Other information about him is given in the 'New England Historical and Genealogical Register' for January, 1888.

Further pulpit supply at Mather's was as follows: John Cotton, from Harvard. (He left probably before 1755.) John Seccombe, perpetual supply from 1761 to 1777; in 1764, Rev. A. Brown; in 1769, Rev. William Moore, a Congregational minister from Ireland, who returned the same year. During these years also, from country charges in Nova Scotia, Mr. Nehemiah Porter; Mr. Caleb Gannett; Mt. Bethune, and others, all Congregationalists.

Here appeared in Nova Scotia the first evidences of the "New Light" movement, which later attained great proportions under the leadership of Alline. This district was solidly Congregational except for one or two Baptist families. The first church was built at Chebogue. The frame was raised on July 23rd, 1766, and the building was finished in 1773. The meeting-house at Cape Fourchu was not begun until 1784, and was not finished until 1790.⁽¹⁾

The people of these districts formed the congregation of Mr. Nehemiah Porter, a regularly ordained Congregational minister. They were early divided by the activities of John Frost, a revivalist preacher, who lived at Argyle. Finding what he described as "evidences of religious concern" he came to Chebogue where he baptised and ordained elders without outside help. He was without education. As in New England, the movement he led⁽²⁾ showed itself in the formation of an "elect covenanting" group. The remainder were "non-elect, non-covenanting." The division was sharp. Mr. Porter never administered the Lord's Supper to persons that entered into the "covenant." The natural direction of this movement is revealed in the invitation sent by the "elect covenanting" group to a Rev. Mr. Moulton, a Baptist clergyman in the district, to be their minister. The division was not permanent, the folly of maintaining two groups in so scattered a settlement being apparent.

1. Campbell, "History of Yarmouth."

2. They entered into a solemn covenant "to walk with God and to watch over one another." Thirty in all were admitted by Mr. Frost, to December 18th, 1767. This account, and the following catalogue of clergymen, congregations, and churches is based on a series of articles published in "The Canadian Congregationalist" in 1924 and 1925 by I. W. Cox. From an examination of the "A" series in the Dominion Archives, and of letters by the S. P. G. one might never suspect that the New Englanders in Nova Scotia had a church of their own. But local records examined by Dr. Cox shows the reverse.

Mr. Frost had returned to Argyle by 1770, In response to an invitation from the Chebogue Society, an ecclesiastical council was convened at Middleborough, Massachusetts, on April 20th, 1772; and the Rev. Jonathan Scott was called to the re-united pastorage⁽¹⁾ at Chebogue.

Following the Congregational churches as they sprang up in the settlements of fishermen along the south shore of Nova Scotia, the next in order is Barrington. The people here were from the Plymouth district of New England. Among Barrington them were a number of Quakers. They settled on Cape Sable Island, and did not at first unite with the rest of the community, who were all Congregationalists, but who were not intolerant of other communions. There was apparently at Barrington very little formal Congregational church organization. What existed was a great divergence from that standard type of New England Congregationalism.

Services were first held in the houses of Archelaus Smith,⁽²⁾ Barrington Head, and of Thomas Crowell, Sherose Island. The frame of the church at Barrington Head was brought from Cape Cod in 1765. It is still standing; and is the oldest church building

1. The ministers in the Yarmouth district to the close of the war were: Rev. Ebenezer Moulton, who came in 1761 from Brimfield, Mass., to Cape Fourchu (a Baptist clergyman); John Frost, the revivalist leader, not ordained, settled at Argyle in 1763; Mr. Samuel Wood, minister at Barrington, for a short time also resident at Argyle; Rev. Nehemiah Porter, born at Ipswich, Mass., graduated from Harvard in 1745, came to Chebogue in 1767, and left in 1771. He died at Ashfield, Mass., in 1820. Rev. Jonathan Scott came in 1772. He was received as pastor on May 17th. He left the country in 1792. In addition to these men, a Rev. Aaron Bancroft came in 1780 and preached for two summers at Cape Fourchu, returning then to New England.

2. Crowell, 'Barrington Township', 111,

in the province after St. Paul's, Halifax. A meeting-house was built on Cape Sable Island about 1780. Only one clergyman ever resided at Barrington in these years, the Rev. Samuel Wood. He gave his services free.⁽¹⁾

Liverpool, the earliest of the New England shore settlements, is noted for the long pastorate of the one Congregational minister located there before the war. The settlement was compact. The congregation was organized on the arrival of the settlers in 1760. The minister, the Rev. Israel Cheever, came at the same time. The first meeting-house was erected in 1765. A new building was built on July 4th, 1775. The last years of Mr. Cheever's pastorate were

(2)
troublesome ones for him. The same

Liverpool

divisions that marked the life of the
(3)

congregation at Chebogue began to show themselves at Liverpool.

The situation was exploited by Henry Alline, who came in 1780. The

1. Ministers who visited Barrington were: Mr. Moulton in 1763. In these early years public worship was conducted by the deacons. This was customary in scattered New England settlements. Rev. Samuel Wood, who came from Union, Connecticut, to Chebogue in 1761, and then to Argyle in 1763, came to Barrington in 1769. He was not ordained. He seems to have remained to the outbreak of the war. Rev. Isaac Knowles, the first ordained minister to live at Barrington stayed six months, from Nov. 1771 to March 1772. He came again in 1773. He performed marriages. Other ministers who resided for a short time in the district and preached there are: the Rev. Samuel Osborne, 1770; a Mr. Sternes, in April 1772; and John Chase, 1770. (These facts are largely drawn from Crowell's History, and the diary of Dr. Geddes.)

2. Rev. Israel Cheever was born at Concord, Mass., in 1723. He graduated from Harvard in 1749. Alline states that he was dismissed from his charge for hard drinking. He died at Liverpool in June, 1812. There are many references to Mr. Cheever in the diary of Simeon Perkins.

3. Simeon Perkins Diary; Henry Alline's 'Journal', January 1st, 1783.

disruption was permanent; but those who remained firm in their attachment to the older form of Congregationalism received some help from the minister and the 'society' at Chebogue.⁽¹⁾

At Chester the Congregationalists did not comprise all the settlers, as they did in the other south shore settlements. The Church of England formed a parish early, but without a resident missionary. No particulars of the organization and strength of the Congregational church can be found. There was apparently no church building. The congregation must have been small and poor. The minister, Rev. John Seccombe, spent most of his time supplying the vacant pulpit of Mather's, Halifax. He delivered his first sermon at Chester on August 9th, 1761.⁽²⁾

It is a strange fact that the area which included the Basin of Minas settlements, Cornwallis, Horton, Falmouth, Newport, and Windsor, containing over one thousand Congregationalist families, should have had but one Congregational church, organized at Kingsport in 1761. The explanation probably lies in the close affiliation between the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians at this time. A Presbyterian congregation existed at Horton under their clergyman, Mr. Murdoch. Baptists⁽³⁾

1. Letter from the congregation to Rev. Jonathan Scott, Chebogue, August 7, 1782.
2. The Rev. John Seccombe was born at Medford, Mass., April 25th, 1708. He graduated from Harvard in 1728. He was pastor of the Harvard Church from 1733 to 1757. He died at Chester, aged 84.
3. Rev. Mr. Bennett in a letter to the S. P. G. January 29th, 1766, makes a reference to another Dissenting clergyman at Horton, a Mr. Fuller. A Mr. Suttan preached for a short time at Newport. (Gregg, 65).

were probably also more numerous here than the records reveal. Deacons were chosen, and an appeal was made to the Council of Massachusetts. This was done without consultation with the congregation whether they wished a minister from Massachusetts or from Connecticut. Dr. Sewell was also interviewed; and the Hartford Association, Connecticut, sent the Rev. Beniah Phelps without further delay. Some of the congregation were never reconciled to the irregularity of his call. Because of this omission, and because Mr. Phelps was "an uncompromising Whig", disputes continued to disturb his people.⁽¹⁾ In 1767, the frame having been brought from New England, a meeting-house was built at Chipman's Corner, very near the site of the old Acadian Parish church of St. Joseph.

The north and south sides of the Annapolis River, near the old fort, were the scene of extensive settlements of Congregationalists. Two churches were erected. The one at the upper end of the Granville settlement afterwards became the property of the Church of England.

The other church was situated at the lower end of the settlement. No building seems to have been erected by the Congregationalists on the Annapolis side, where the Church of England had been long on the ground, and where the popular missionary of the society, Mr. Wood, received the support of everyone. One Congregational minister was resident in this district⁽²⁾ throughout the period, the Rev. Asahel Morse. Later he favored the

(1) The Rev. Beniah Phelps, born at Hebron, Connecticut, in 1737, graduated from Yale in 1761, and settled at Cornwallis in 1766. He married there in 1769. He left Nova Scotia in 1776 because of his rebel sympathies. The Rev. Aaron Bancroft preached in 1781 at Cornwallis. The community had been visited earlier by the Rev. Jonathan Scott of Yarmouth.

(2) Born in Massachusetts in 1745, and a graduate of Harvard.

"New Lights." Why the Congregational church did not prosper from the beginning in this well-settled area must be explained by internal controversies over questions then agitating the Congregational churches in New England.

The settlements of New Englanders in Cumberland county lay adjacent to Fort Cumberland and Fort Lawrence. Amherst and Sackville were the principal centres. Cumberland.

No⁽¹⁾ meeting-house was erected. The Congregational minister was the Rev. Caleb Gannet. He came in 1767, and resided near the forts. He returned to Boston in 1771; and with his departure the Congregationalist cause died out in Cumberland.

The most remote of all the New England settlements in Nova Scotia, and the most isolated of the Congregational churches planted before the Revolution, were Mougerville and Sheffield, on the river St. John. This district was Mougerville Congregational without exception. The Sheffield. Church covenant was made in 1765, but no settled minister was obtained until 1774. In the interval, as was the custom in the New England settlements, the deacons conducted public worship, and were watchful in matters of discipline. They were aided by an intermittent pulpit supply. A Mr. Wellman is said to have come with the first settlers as a religious teacher. He did not remain, The Rev. Zephaniah Briggs preached during the months from May to August in 1770; a Mr.

1. The Rev. Caleb Gannet, born at Bridgewater, Mass., in 1745, graduated from Harvard in 1763, came to Cumberland in 1767. He returned to Boston in 1773. (S. P. G. Report. Letter of Eagleson). He died at Harvard in 1818. He is referred to in the diary of Anna Green Winslow ("Diary of a Boston School-girl", 1771, p.3). Miss Winslow's home had been at Fort Cumberland. The Nov. 27th entry has "we were very glad to see Mr. Gannett."

Webster also visited the settlements. On June 15th, 1774, the Rev. Seth Noble was regularly called and inducted. He remained until his sympathies with the rebels in 1777 forced him to leave the country. The Meeting-house, built on a lot reserved for the Dissenting Protestants in accordance with the terms of Governor Lawrence's proclamation, was completed in 1776. It was the first Protestant place of worship on the St. John.

This brings to an end the catalogue of congregations, church buildings, and ministers of the Congregational church in Nova Scotia before the revolution. While the war threatened, and even before Henry Alline began his work, these congregations were not in a healthy condition. This was due partly to the extreme poverty of the inhabitants, and to some extent, ~~to~~ the clergymen, few of whom appear to have been of an enterprising nature, and some, of doubtful character. ⁽¹⁾ The American war destroyed the Congregational church in Nova Scotia. Its people went back to their old homes; its clergy sympathized with the rebels and abandoned their fields; and the later Loyalist government naturally gave little encouragement to a church that had been so closely allied with the rebels. The remnant were split by the revival led by Henry Alline, and finally entered the Baptist church. After 1809 the Congregationalism that the New England settlers of 1760 had brought with them almost ceased to exist. Four congregations survived the debacle, to be brought a hundred years later into the United Church of Canada. The extent

1. It is stated that Mr. Morse sold church property and carried the proceeds away with him. The same charge was made against Mr. Phelps. The salary of these men was probably in arrears, and as the grants were made in their own names, they had a right to sell, although the people believed that the land had been intended for the continual benefit of the church (Eaton, 'Kings Co.', 273).

of the Congregational church at one time in Nova Scotia is apt to be forgotten, because its strength lay in the country districts,
(1)
where the records are either scattered or lost.

1. Murray says of early Nova Scotian history "existing records naturally reflect the English ideas and the feelings of the official class, and upon these attention has been riveted."

CHAPTER FOUR: THE CHURCHES IN RELATION TO
SETTLEMENT:- III, THE PRESBYTERIANS.

Presbyterianism in Nova Scotia was American in origin. Its introduction into the province by settlers from New Hampshire, its first resident minister received from the Presbytery of New Brunswick, New Jersey, and its strong affiliations with the Congregational churches and ministers, show how deeply its roots are imbedded in American soil.

But it was only American in its beginnings. An early connection with the Secession churches pointed to Scotland as the later and main source of its life and strength.

The Presbyterian Church in Canada began its history in Nova Scotia. A service conducted at Louisbourg in 1758 by the Presbyterian Chaplain to Colonel Fraser's Highland Regiment was the first Presbyterian service ever held in Canada in the English language. The first resident Presbyterian minister in Canada was the Rev. James Lyon, who came to Truro in 1764. The first special meeting of a Presbytery in Canada took place at Halifax in 1770; and the first regular meeting of a Presbytery in Canada, at Truro in 1786.

The close connection between the Presbyterians, their ministers and congregations, in Nova Scotia in these early days, and the Presbyteries and Synods in other colonies in America, make advisable a brief resume of the tangled history of Scottish churches in America in the eighteenth century.

By 1760 the Presbyterian church had already become one of

the three largest on the continent. Its strength lay in the Middle colonies, to which the great body of immigrants from Ulster

Presbyterianism
in the Middle
Colonies

were attracted by reports of natural wealth and tolerance of religion. Some missionaries were sent to the Delaware region by the Society of North Britain, a Presbyterian body. The Synod of Philadelphia, with four Presbyteries, was organized in 1717. During the Whitefield revival the Synod divided into "Old Sides" and "New Sides," becoming the Synod of Philadelphia and the Synod of New York, respectively. The opposing parties were united in 1758. Besides the above Synod in connection with the Church of Scotland, the various divisions of Scottish Presbyterianism were also represented in the Middle Colonies. A "Reformed Presbytery" was organized in 1743. Petitions from Pennsylvania were sent to the Secession Church in 1750. A 'General Associate' Presbytery was formed in 1753; and an "Associate" Presbytery with four members in 1754. The Associate Presbytery increased to thirteen members by 1774, and was divided into the two Presbyteries of Pennsylvania and New York.

In Virginia and the Carolinas the Presbytery of James River, in sympathy with the moderates of the Church of Scotland, was organized in 1723. As the century advanced its churches increased

rapidly with the growing immigration from Ulster. The Presbyterian churches of these southern colonies were perhaps the most active in missionary work of all the Presbyterian churches in America. A petition for aid was even sent to them from the Presbyterians in Nova Scotia. (1)

1. Thompson, R. E., 'A History of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States.'

Both in origin and in the final issue, the story of Presbyterianism in New England differs from its history in the Middle and Southern colonies. In New England for many years the Presbyterian was without exception the church of the Ulster immigrants.

In New England Unlike the vigorous and independent growth of Presbyterianism in the south, in New England it was eventually absorbed by the Congregationalists. In 1729 the Presbytery of Londonderry, N. H., was founded by the Rev James McGregor⁽¹⁾. The Presbytery divided in 1736 on the question of discipline and of its relation to the Congregational churches. The minority, who voted against compromise, became in 1745 the Presbytery of Boston. This Presbytery threw itself with zeal into the measures of the 'Great Awakening', and rapidly out-grew the other branch, which by 1765 became extinct by depletion. In 1774 the Presbytery of Boston became a Synod with four Presbyteries. Two parallel Presbyteries, formed in Connecticut, were repudiated by the Synod for their Congregational affiliations. This was the period of the greatest growth of New England Presbyterianism.⁽³⁾ In New Hampshire five churches in 1760 had grown to twenty in 1778. The number in Maine is said not to have been less. The ministers serving these congregations were from Ulster. It is estimated that by 1776 there were thirty-two resident in Maine and New Hampshire.⁽⁴⁾

1. It is a coincidence that the famous pioneer missionary in Nova Scotia was of the same name.

2. Parker, "History of Londonderry", 149.

3. Briggs, "American Presbyterianism", 342, 343.

4. Bolton, 'Scotch Irish Pioneers', 116.

2 years

Presbyterianism was introduced into Nova Scotia by the Scotch-Irish from Londonderry, N. H., who founded Truro and London-

<p>Truro; Appeal from Nova Scotia to the Presbytery of New Brunswick, N. J.</p>	<p>derry, N. S. Eight days after these American settlers landed at Truro, a congregation was organized and the (1) erection of a log meeting-house begun.</p>
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Within two years the American settlement was augmented by the arrival of Presbyterian families sent out direct from Ulster by Colonel McNutt. The inhabitants of the district, with the sympathy of one or two individuals in other parts of the province, united in addressing a petition for a minister to the Presbytery of New Brunswick in the Synod of New York. It is surprising that, with no settlers in this neighborhood from the middle colonies, and with so many from New Hampshire, the petition was not despatched to the Presbyterian Church in New England, which was of North of Ireland origin. But it will be remembered that the Presbytery of Londonderry, had recently undergone a disruption from which it did not recover. Further, the minority constituting the Presbytery of Boston, ~~were~~ ^{had} separated from the others on the question of Congregational affiliation. The settlers at Truro and Onslow had many Congregationalists among them, who might not have cared to have associated themselves with so exclusive a body.

The Synod of New York and Philadelphia, which included the Presbytery of New Brunswick, N. J., responded to the appeal from

Truro with the appointment of Mr.

Rev. James
Lyon

James Lyon, "to go and officiate in the

said Colony at discretion, for the space of ten months or longer,

(1)
 if the state of affairs require it." It is not known exactly when Mr. Lyon came. His name is among those to whom the Philadelphia grant at Pictou was made in 1765. He may have reached Nova Scotia in the autumn of 1764, before the "Hope" came to Pictou. In this case he must have returned to America for ordination. But the relation between Mr. Lyon's commission from the Philadelphia Company, and the terms on which he was sent as missionary to Nova Scotia by the Synod, are not clear. He remained in Nova Scotia. This is proved by the mention of his name in the letter to Andrew Elliot; by the fact that his name is found in deed books at Onslow until 1772; and from a record of absences from meetings of the Synod after his ordination, broken only once. His place of residence in Nova Scotia has been variously inferred. He did not

(2)
 stay long at Pictou; he lived for a short time at Truro; but most probably his home was at Onslow until the revolution drove him to
 (3)
 Machias, Maine.

1. Minutes of the Presbytery of New Brunswick, at the meeting at Trenton, N. J., Dec. 5th, 1764. The Synod's action followed in 1765.
2. 'Provision was made for him, but he did not stay' (Petition sent to Scotland for a minister, from the inhabitants at Pictou, Nov. 8th, 1784 (Old Record Book).
3. Rev. James Lyon: his first appearance in church records is in the minutes of Presbytery, 1765 (History of the College of New Jersey, John MacLean, II, 513), (Minutes of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, printed.) On May 18th, 1763, the Presbytery of New Brunswick reports that they have licensed among others, James Lyon, 'to preach the gospel'. He was ordained May 15th, 1765. He was present at the meeting of the Synod in Philadelphia on May 18th, 1768. He was absent from the following meetings: May 20th, 1767; May 17th, 1769; May 16th, 1770; May 15th, 1771; etc., to 1778, when the record ceases. From these absences it is reasonably inferred that Mr. Lyon was in Nova Scotia.

Before the arrival of Mr. Lyon in Nova Scotia, the Presbyterians at Truro and the surrounding settlements had addressed another petition for a minister directly to Scotland, to the Associate Synod of the Secession Church. There is no evidence that the first American settlers at Truro were specially drawn to the Secession Church. But the Seceders were active in the north of Ireland, and the arrival at Londonderry, Nova Scotia, of so many families directly from Ulster was probably the leaven that worked the change. Some doctrinal feeling seems to have promoted the sending of this petition to the Secession church, for a letter written by the authority of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia to Nova Scotia about this time says - "We hear that our Synod has been injuriously represented in your parts, as being lax in principle and doctrine; but the Westminster Confession is received here without equivocation." The Synod also wrote to assure Mr. Murdoch, a Secession minister who had arrived in Nova Scotia about this time from Ireland, that "the public standards of the Church of Scotland are our Standards."⁽¹⁾

The Secession Churches of Scotland, whose history is so important for the future story of Presbyterianism in these districts of Nova Scotia, had their beginning in the withdrawal of Ebenezer Erskine and three other ministers from the Established church in 1733. ⁽²⁾

1. Minutes of the Presbytery of New Brunswick (quoted in the 'History of the College of New Jersey', 283, 286).

2. Nov. 16th was the date of their protest. The "Associate Presbytery" was formed on Dec. 6th, 1733; and on Oct. 11th, 1744, became the "Associate Synod", with three Presbyteries, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Dumfermline. (McKerrow, J., 'History of the Secession Church', I.).

Not
quite
clear

A further division took place, occasioned by the Burgess Oath,
 (1)
 which was aimed at the Catholics in Scotland. It was the
 result of the Rebellion of 1745; and every burghess in Scotland
 was required to take it. But many refused. The split in the
 Secession Church took place in 1747, the "Burghers" being content
 to take the oath, and the "Anti-burghers," refusing. The highest
 court of the Burghers was termed the 'Associate Synod' of the
 Secession Church; the highest court of the Anti-burghers was
 called the 'General Associate' Synod of the Secession Church. Both
 Secession Churches were from the beginning of their separate
 existence, missionary churches. Their first missions were to
 Pennsylvania. This openness to appeal from over-seas distinguished
 them sharply from the Church of Scotland, which was not concerned
 over the condition of affairs in Nova Scotia. The Associate
 Presbytery of Glasgow met in the "New Church of Bristo" in May
 1765, to consider petitions for aid that had reached them simul-
 (2)
 taneously from New Jersey and Nova Scotia.

Mr. Samuel Kinloch, a probationer, and Rev. David Telfer
 were appointed by the Synod for its American missions. They were

1. The Burgess Oath was, "Here I protest, before God and your
 Lordships, that I profess, and allow with my heart, the true
 religion presently professed within this realm, and authorized
 by the laws thereof; I shall abide ~~the rest~~, and defend the same ^{thereof}
 to my life's end - renouncing the Roman religion called Papistry."
 The Burghers understood the true religion to mean Protestantism;
 the Anti-burgher restricted its meaning to the established church,
 from which he was ejected. Hence the dispute.

2. The application for a minister, recorded in the minutes of
 the Synod, was signed by sixty persons on May 21st, 1764.

both to proceed to Philadelphia. Mr. Kinloch, however, came to

Truro:

Mr. Cock

Truro. He arrived in 1766, and remained

for three years as a pastor very acceptable

to the people; but although he received calls from both Truro

and Philadelphia he returned to Scotland in 1769. On his return,

the Associate Synod made appointments to fill his place; the Rev.

(1) Mr. Cock, who came to Truro in 1770; and the Rev. David Smith, (2)

Londonderry:

Mr. Smith

who arrived at Londonderry, N. S., in the

^{2 1771}

same year. There was no frame church

building erected at Londonderry, (Folly

Village) until 1794; but log meeting-houses were built at Folly and

at Masstown in the first years of settlement. Both **these** men

received instructions not to encroach on the authority of the

Secession Presbytery of Pennsylvania. After their arrival and

settlement, with the exception of Mr. Murdoch, no other ministers

from the Secession church came to Nova Scotia, and only one from

another source, until after the war.

1. Rev. Daniel Cock was born at Clydesdale and was ordained minister of Carsdyke, Greenock. He was also a professor of divinity at the Associate Synod College. He was elected moderator in 1755. In August, 1767, he was appointed to America for a year, but did not go. The same year, 1770, that he arrived in Truro, he returned to Scotland for his family. He was settled in 1772, and died in 1805 at Truro. (Robertson J., 'History of the Mission of the Secession Church to Nova Scotia'; and Gregg, W., 'History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada' are the chief sources for this and further information about the Secession ministers).

1763

2. Rev. David Smith was ordained in 1764. He was moderator in 1766. He died at Londonderry on March 25th, 1795. (His name occurs in the Nova Scotia Chronicle for 1775, April 18th as among those for whom letters were waiting in the Post Office at Halifax).

Rev. James Murdoch came from the General Associate, or 'Anti-burgher' section of the Secession church of the north of Ireland.

Horton:
Mr. Murdoch

In September, 1766, he was ordained by the Presbytery of Newton-Limavady as
(1)
missionary with a general commission to America. As many of his countrymen had sailed for Nova Scotia, he landed in the fall of 1766 at Halifax. But he was never officially connected with the later Burgher or Anti-burgher Presbyteries in the province; and after preaching some time in the Congregational meeting-house at Halifax, he selected Horton as the field of his operations. He lived there for twenty years, preaching regularly. Latterly he visited the newer settlements of Noel and Shubenacadie, and made
(2)
journeys to Cornwallis, Cumberland, Parrsboro, and Amherst. His
(3)
congregation at Horton was largely Congregational.

Other districts in Nova Scotia having the services of clergy--men ordained in a Presbyterian church, or the rudiments of a

Other Presby-
terian centres:
Lunenburg.

Presbyterian congregation, may be rapidly surveyed. The Reformed church of the

Foreign Protestants at Lunenburg has been mentioned. It followed the Presbyterian system, the sixty families who organized the congregation being of the Dutch Reformed church,

1. Divisions in the Synod of Ulster took place in sympathy with the Secession movement in Scotland. About the time of Mr. Murdoch's departure, throughout the Church difficult times were experienced, due to government oppression, the spread of Unitarianism, and poverty. To so low a level had standards come that no academic diploma was considered necessary for ministers (Reid, J. S., 'History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland', III, 365).
2. Mr. Murdoch died in 1799 at Musquodoboit (N. S. H. S., II, 100)
3. A Presbyterian Church was built at Lower Horton shortly after his arrival. (Eaton, 'Kings Co.' 247).

(1)
and Calvinists. In 1769 they built their small church. This was the beginning of the present St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Lunenburg. The first minister, the Rev. Bruin Romcas Comingo, was one of their own number, ordained at the special Presbytery meeting at Halifax in 1770. A delegate previously sent to Germany by the congregation had failed to bring out a pastor.

James Davidson at Lyon's Brook, Pictou, began a Sunday School among the American settlers; and after the Highlanders came, Sabbath meetings were held, with readings in English and Gaelic. These were the only religious services maintained in the first twenty years of the settlement, with the exception of an occasional visit from Mr. Cock of Truro or Mr. Smith of Londonderry; for the Highlanders who came by the "Hector" brought no minister with them. The colony was without a resident clergyman until the arrival of the Rev. James MacGregor in 1786.

With the destruction of the Congregational church, several of whose charges became within a few years Presbyterian, (noticably Mather's (Halifax), Barrington, Horton, and Cornwallis) a new beginning is made in the history of the Presbyterian church in Nova Scotia. The Congregational origin of much of Presbyterian life in Nova Scotia was forgotten later, and the Congregationalism imparted in some districts to Presbyterian ways, partially disappeared. The formation of the first regular Presbytery at

1. Registers of the Dutch Reformed Church, Lunenburg: 1st entry in Baptismal Registry, July 8th, 1770; 1st entry in Record of Burials, April 5th, 1771; 1st in Record of Marriages, August 12th, 1770;

(1)

Truro in 1786, and the arrival of Rev. James MacGregor, a missionary long afterwards famous in the annals of the province, gave Presbyterianism new life and strength. The old alignment with the churches in America was broken off, never to be restored; and with the increasing settlement of the north-eastern districts of Nova Scotia by emigrants from the Highlands of Scotland, Presbyterianism came to be definitely of the Scottish type.

(2)

1. At the meeting of Presbytery at Truro in 1786, there were present: Daniel Cock, David Smith, and Hugh Graham, ministers; (all of the Burgher section of the Secession Church); and John Johnson, John Barnhill, ruling elders. The Rev. George Gilmour and the Rev. James MacGregor were present, but not as members of the Presbytery. The Rev. Hugh Graham had come from Scotland to Cornwallis in 1785. The Rev. George Gilmour, a Loyalist, and a minister of the Church of Scotland, had come to Halifax in 1784, where he assisted the Rev. Mr. Russell, Church of Scotland minister, at St. Matthew's Presbyterian Church.

2. "In 1764-68, five ministers of the Burgher Branch of the Secession Church had arrived in America, and had applied for admission into the Anti-Burgher or General Associate Presbytery. As the point of difference between the two Seceder churches had no pertinence in America, the Presbytery agreed to accept them on the footing of assent to common principles as defined in the Secession testimony. But as the American Anti-Burgher Presbytery was subordinate to the Scotch Synod, this now felt itself compromised by being brought into fellowship with ministers who approved of the Burgess Oath. Two ministers were sent out with instructions not to take their seats in Presbytery until the Burgher members were expelled. This was done in 1771, and they were told that it was very sinful in Presbytery to have admitted them." (Thompson).

The Burghers themselves in America were scarcely less adamant on the question of union. Any approach was made by the Synod of New York and Philadelphia to the Associate Presbytery. In 1769, at their request, Dr. Witherspoon moved for a committee of conference with a view to union. Negotiations were carried on until 1774, when it was manifest that the Associate brethren could not see their way to an agreement. This was probably due to a stiffening received in the meantime from the Scottish Associate Synod. (Thompson, 'History'). These failures explain the reticence of Mr. MacGregor in accepting overtures from his Burgher brethren in Nova Scotia. But in 1817 Nova Scotia led the way in the matter of Union between Presbyterian bodies; when, through the labors of Mr. MacGregor and others, the first union in the world took place between these two branches of Scottish Presbyterianism.

CHAPTER FIVE. THE CHURCHES IN RELATION TO SETTLEMENT:-

IV, OTHER RELIGIOUS BODIES.

Other religious bodies than the Anglican, Congregational, and Presbyterian were scarcely represented in Nova Scotia before the revolution. But two Protestant churches that have played a great part since, in the religious life of the province, may be said to have originated in this period; the Baptist and the Methodist.

The few groups to be noticed here follow the general rule governing church origins in Nova Scotia. The Baptists at first were strictly limited to members of their church who came together from New England; the Methodists, to the settlers from Yorkshire at Cumberland. But after the war these limitations became effaced. Both churches entered on a period of expansion. Both grew in numbers because of energetic missionary leadership, and through the disintegration of the older churches. After the Loyalists came, the remarkable growth of these two communions was not due so much to immigration as to enterprising revival methods that swept into their folds whole groups from the other communions.

In considering the beginnings of the Baptist and Methodist churches in Nova Scotia, although both were 'revivalist', a sharp distinction must be drawn between them; for the Baptist alignment was wholly with America, and still shows that influence on its life and customs; while the Methodist affiliations, before missionaries came from the older colonies with the Loyalist

settlers, were entirely with England.

Both the Methodist and Baptist churches in Nova Scotia flourished on the after waves of the great religious revival of the eighteenth century; in England led by the Wesleys; in America known as the "Great Awakening", and associated with the names of Jonathan Edwards and Whitefield. The Methodists were wholly under the spell of the Wesleys, and cannot be connected with the phenomena of revival and its consequences in America. But the Baptist church with its roots in America thrived on the fruits of the evangelical movement there.

(1)

Baptists were rigorously repressed in the early days of Massachusetts and Connecticut. They enjoyed most freedom in Rhode Island under the more liberal principles of Roger Williams.⁽¹⁾

The Baptist
Church in New
England.

The Baptist church continued to be one of the strongest of that colony throughout the eighteenth century. Many Rhode Islanders settled in Nova Scotia in 1760 and 1761, and this must be borne in mind when trying to estimate the numbers of early Baptists in Nova Scotia. Although afterwards tolerated in Massachusetts and Connecticut, they still came into conflict with laws which required the payment of rates to the Congregational ministers, unless certified to be 'bona fide' Baptists.⁽²⁾ By coming to Nova Scotia they escaped this hardship; and it is very

1. O. 18th, III, 242.

2. Guild, 'Chaplain Smith and the Baptists', 79 (quoted in Baldwin, 109). Cramp, J. M., 'Baptist History', 467.

probable that the few communities that migrated did so in search of an asylum.

In 1764 there were fewer than seventy Baptist churches in all the American colonies. (1) After 1774 that number began to increase at a very rapid rate. The great growth was due, as stated above,

Effect of the
'Great Awaken-
ing'.

to the effects of the "Great Awakening"
on the Anglican, Congregational, and

Presbyterian churches of New England and the Middle Colonies. These effects were so lasting that the attitude and experience of each communion in America toward the revival deserves brief statement. It gave the first severe blow to Church establishment in the colonies, whether it was Congregational or Episcopal in type. The Anglican church was fairly well united in its opposition to the revival. The Presbyterian church was divided into "Old Sides" and "New Sides" by the eloquence of Whitefield, and by the preaching and writing of Jonathan Edwards. In the hands of the latter the revival movement took an intellectual cast, and became "an emphatic reassertion of Calvinism in its ultra form." The division was subsequently healed without great numerical loss to the congregations. But the fate of the Congregational churches of New England under the revival was different. The division between "New Light" and "Old Light" led to permanent estrangements. It led to the abandonment of the 'Half-way' Convent and to an attempt to reduce membership

1. Guild, note, 157. Benedict, D. 'A General History of the Baptist Denomination', 365.

to those who gave evidence of actual conversion. As a result of these divisions, many of the new congregations found themselves in the Baptist church. What happened in New England continued to take place in Nova Scotia. The Congregational churches there became the centre of local movements in sympathy with the divisions that had occurred at home. Under the influence of Henry Alline, a man of a remarkable personality and keen missionary spirit, whose activities were inspired by the example of previous evangelical achievements in America, these congregations, weakened and separated from their New England base by the war, with their regular ministers withdrawn, followed their example and became Baptist too.

Shubael Dimock and his family emigrated in 1760 from Connecticut and settled at Newport. With a few others they formed the first Baptist community in Nova Scotia. The Rev. John Sutton, a

Newport,
Horton,
Sackville.

Baptist minister, accompanied them. He remained a year and then returned to the old colonies. The Rev. Ebenezer Moulton

came at the same time to Yarmouth to preach to the "New Light" group who followed John Frost. He is said also to have formed a church of mixed membership at Horton. He also returned within two years to Massachusetts. The first Baptist congregation with a settled minister, originated in the unique emigration of a colony of thirteen members from Swansea, Massachusetts, to Sackville, led by their pastor, the Rev. Nathan Mason. They remained

1. Saunders, E. M., 'History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces.'

at Sackville and in the vicinity for about eight years, during which time they had increased to sixty members. A young man, Job Seaman, acted as pastor for a while. He was subsequently ordained at North Attleboro, Massachusetts, in 1773. The whole congregation returned in a body to New England in 1771.⁽¹⁾

There was no other organized Baptist congregation in Nova Scotia until Henry Alline formed one at Horton on October 19th, 1778, with the Rev. Nicholas Pearson, a resident of the place, chosen and ordained by himself as pastor.⁽²⁾

(2)

As shown above, the first Methodists in Nova Scotia had no contact with America, where, before the war, Methodism scarcely existed. In 1769, John Wesley sent the first two Methodist preachers across the Atlantic. The infant churches established by them were shattered by the revolution. Methodists were looked on as Loyalists, and in the revolting colonies the Methodists shared with the Anglicans the opprobrium cast on those who supported English institutions. Many Methodists and several preachers were among the first Loyalists to reach Nova Scotia.

1. Milner, 83.
2. At Louisburg in 1766, of 500 inhabitants, 200 are called Baptists (letter to S.P.G., July 10th); but there is no record of a congregation having been organized, or of Baptist services having been held.

The one centre of Methodism in Nova Scotia before the
 (1)
 war was Cumberland. The Yorkshire men who settled there had
 in their old homes in the north of
 Cumberland
 County and
 William Black. England come under the direct influence
 of John Wesley. The district continues
 to be the centre of Methodism. It was the place of residence
 of William Black, called by many, the founder of Methodism in
 Nova Scotia. His family sailed from Hull in April 1775, and
 four years later, he began his missionary career. An account
 (2)
 of his conversion is given in a letter written to John Wesley.
 His labors were at first restricted to the neighborhood of
 Amherst and Sackville. The membership of the circuit here, in
 1782, was eighty-two. He carried on the work with several
 similarly-minded young men, two of whom accompanied him to
 (3)
 Philadelphia in 1788 for ordination. In later years, Mr. Black
 (4)
 visited the most remote parts of the province.

The first ordained Methodist missionary to come to Nova
 Scotia was the Rev. Freeborn Carretson, a Loyalist, in 1785.
 The first ordained minister to visit Cumberland was James Wray,
 in 1788. In this year, at Point de Bute, was erected the first
 Methodist Church in Canada.

1. Two other places in Nova Scotia were the scenes of Methodist interest. Benjamin Chappell came from London to the Island of St. John in 1775. He had been a friend of John Wesley's. He maintained an interest among the settlers of his neighborhood in the absence of a minister and church. The Rev. Robert Vincent in a letter from Lunenburg to the S.P.G., September 8th, 1764, writes, "we have an enthusiast among us." In several letters he continues to report the activities of this "interrupter."
2. Wesley's Journal, entry for April 15th, 1782.
3. Richey, M., 'Memoir of William Black', 243.
4. Smith, T. W., 'History of Methodism in Eastern British America', Ch. IV.

(3)

Only three bodies of Quakers have ever made their homes
 (1)
 in Nova Scotia. One came before the Revolution; the other two,
 with the Loyalists. All were temporary
 Quakers.

establishments. They were: at Cape
 (2)
 Sable Island, the settlement from Nantucket in 1762; at Dart-
 mouth, refugees who came to carry on a whaling industry; and a
 colony at Pennfield, Beaver Harbor, in territory then included
 (3)
 in New Brunswick.

An independent church of the 'Sandemanians' also flourished
 Sandemanians. ~~for a few years~~ for a few years among the Loyalists at
 Halifax. Its pastor was the Rev. Titus Smith.

1. Moreau, in a letter to the S.P.G., October 8th, 1765,
 notes the presence of "des Trembleurs" at Lunenburg.
2. Crowell, 94.
3. N. B. Archives, Vol. IV, 79.

CHAPTER SIX. THE DISSENTING CHURCHES: RELATIONS WITH
THE GOVERNMENT AND WITH THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

In the period under study, a general harmony prevailed among the three larger Protestant bodies. Several reasons account for this. Tolerance and good-will were shown dissenters by the government because a Whig ministry ruled in England, and the representatives of the home government were ready to co-operate with Dissenters as part of a general policy. The Board of Trade had deliberately planned to bring to Nova Scotia colonists not necessarily of the Established church. Further, Puritan and Presbyterian had also strong sympathies with 'Broad' churchmen, the type prevailing in the early days of the Anglican Church at Halifax. Again, the three churches were equally cold to revivals.

Both at Halifax and in the country a friendly attitude was maintained. Cornwallis treated Churchman and Dissenter with open-handed fairness. The people caught his spirit. He arranged for money necessary to build the
Friendly relations. (1)
Dissenter's meeting-house, gave generous (2)
grants to the Rev. Aaron Cleveland, and was, most probably, the one who contrived that Mr. Cleveland should preach in St. Paul's on Sunday afternoons until the Dissenters'

1. "His Excellency is so good that he gives us grounds and builds us a meeting-house at his cost" (Boston News-Letter, Jan. 8th, 1751).
2. 228 acres at Eastern Passage.

(1)
meeting-house was ready. Mr. Tutty, the clergyman in charge of the Church of England at Halifax until 1754, mentions in his report that perfect harmony exists between the two parties, and that few of the Dissenters fail to come to his services. (2) This cordiality was strengthened by the personality of Dr. Breynton in befriending and in introducing to the governor Mr. Seccombe, the Congregationalist minister from Chester, who came to preach at (3) Mather's.

In 1762 the Dissenters joined in a subscription to furnish St. Paul's with an organ; and in June, 1770, it is recorded that at a meeting of the Board of Corresponding Members of the S.P.G. Society "the committee and the clergy, with the Dissenting ministers; H. M. Council, and the House of Assembly, all attended at Church, and heard an excellent sermon from Dr. Breynton." (4) At Windsor, in April 1771, Mr. Bennett writes, "we have got a small chapel, which answers for a church for me, for a meeting-house whenever a Dissenting minister happens to come this way in my absence. It was built by the subscription of the inhabitants indiscriminately, churchmen and dissenters, according to their abilities." From Fort Cumberland, in 1770, Mr. Eagleson writes, "several Dissenters attended with great gravity and decorum", and there were "nearly as many Dissenters as Church people at his services." In these New England settlements the missionaries

1. "The Rev. Mr. Cleveland is arrived here....and preaches every Lord's day in the afternoon in the Church, to good acceptance, and will continue to do so until a Meeting-house can be built". (letter from Halifax, Dec. 15th, 1750).
2. Letter to the S.P.G., July 5th, 1751.
3. Dr. Breynton to the S.P.G., June 19th, 1764. Seccombe's Diary, 1761, Nov. 2nd, Dec. 7th.
4. Belcher to the S.P.G., Jan. 14th, 1762.

would encourage the friendliness of the Dissenters in the hope that many of them would be permanently won over; while Dissenters were attracted because the Society and the government paid the salaries of the missionaries, the duty of supporting their own clergy bearing hardly on them at this time.

The Methodists can scarcely be placed with the other Dissenters. On the one hand, their leaders steadily repudiated the name. Wesley exhorted his followers to attend the services of the Church and to avoid connecting themselves with any Dissenting body. On the other hand, they met with little sympathy from the real Dissenters. Lecky writes, "the fierce fervor of Methodist devotion was as uncongenial to the spirit then prevailing in Dissent as it was to the spirit of the Established Church."⁽¹⁾ In Nova Scotia they did not receive the same treatment as the other Dissenters. Mr. Eagleson deemed it his duty to suppress the first meetings of Methodists at Cumberland, and the commander of the garrison, at his instigation, with a party of soldiers broke up one of the early meetings of William Black, Methodist preacher, and made prisoners of more than twenty of his congregation.⁽²⁾ That severe means were thought justifiable can also be inferred from a sentence in a letter of the Rev. Robert Vincent: "We have an enthusiast among us. The magistrates hath prevented their assembling at Divine Service, since when they attend church and meet afterwards. I am convinced Lenity is ye best method of proceeding."⁽³⁾

1. Lecky, II, 580, 632.
2. Richey, 10.
3. Letter to S.P.G., Sept. 8th, 1764.

Many things indicate how complete was the rupture between Church and Dissent after 1783. The old inhabitants, Dissenters and rebel sympathizers, waged a desperate political struggle with the Loyalists, who were for the most part After 1783.

Churchmen, and who were eager to transplant an aggressive policy of 'Church and State' to Nova Scotia. The election of 1785 was fiercely contested in the western parts of the province. Rev. Jacob Bailey writes from Annapolis: "the present election creates a bitterness of spirit which a number of years will hardly be able to sweeten", "the Loyalists and the old settlers will not unite to finish the church."⁽¹⁾ The Church of England succeeded in many cases in claiming the glebe lands granted in the first place to Congregationalists, and in holding them for the exclusive use of small bodies of their own people.⁽²⁾ In August, 1788, Bishop Inglis could write to Bishop White in Pennsylvania, "the government is entirely on my side, and no powerful faction can be formed against me. The Episcopal Church is to be raised, as it were, from the foundation."⁽³⁾ The new Bishop had a seat on the Council, and landed, while on tour of the province, from a man-of-war under a salute of guns. In the thoroughly Loyalist province of New Brunswick the privileges of the Church of England were maintained to the exclusion of almost all other denominations. The Assembly there ratified the law for

1. Letter of Jacob Bailey, Feb. 6th, 1786, to Rev. Mr. Byles, Halifax. (Supplement to Savary's History of Annapolis, 37).
2. Brown, 'Yarmouth', 60; Wilson, 'Digby County', 134.
3. Bishop Perry, "The First Bishop in Nova Scotia". (Church Review, Sept. 1887).

the maintenance of an established clergy, and for fifty years the only clergymen authorized to solemnize marriages were those of the Church of England and of the Church of Scotland, and Roman Catholic priests.⁽¹⁾

1. Note on marriages by Dissenting Clergymen. Lord Hardwicke succeeded in 1753 in carrying successfully through the British Parliament a Marriage Act; "providing that, with the exception of Jewish and Quaker marriages, no marriage should be valid in England which was not celebrated by a priest in orders, and according to the Anglican liturgy" (Lecky, I, 492; 26 George II. c. 33). This Act was necessary in England to suppress the scandal of the 'Fleet' marriages. Restrictions on the performances of marriages by Dissenting clergymen were, however, maintained also in Nova Scotia for many years. In 1751 Richard Mainwaring, who called himself a clergyman, and said he had lost his credentials, was fined £100 for celebrating a marriage. Where no Anglican clergyman was available, officers of the army or navy performed marriages, on a license issued by the governor (Journal of Captain Owen, N.B.H.S. II, 18; Murdoch, 1751, August 15th). In the New England settlements marriages were performed by Congregational clergymen sometimes without interference; and even without a clergyman at all (Diary, Simeon Perkin's, April 26th, 1767; Raymond, 'River St. John', 346). The government measures were both neglected and abused. Some clergymen of the Church of England sold their privilege (Eaton 'King's County' 238; charges against Mr. Stanser, M. III, 196). The steps in the repeal of these provisions in Nova Scotia are: 33 George III C. 55, confirming marriages previously solemnized by J. P.'s and other laymen, passed in 1793; an act of 1795, by which the governor was empowered to appoint laymen to solemnize marriages in townships where there was no regular clergyman resident; a petition given in on February 28th, 1818; Lord Dalhousie's disallowance of the Marriage Act (M. III, 441); and the full privileges accorded Dissenting ministers in 1832.

CHAPTER SEVEN. THE DISSENTING CHURCHES:

AFFILIATION BETWEEN THE CONGREGATIONALISTS
AND THE PRESBYTERIANS.

Presbyterianism in Nova Scotia was not only American in its beginnings, but until the Highland immigration reached considerable proportions in the opening years of the nineteenth century, ~~the~~ membership was one-half Congregational. Two factors brought about this condition; the cooperation between the two bodies, described in this chapter, and the dissolution of the regular Congregational church, described in the next.

The chief explanation of the affiliation between the two bodies in the earliest period lies in the history of Congregationalism in Western and Eastern New England. The tendency to cooperate came from these older colonies.

New England Congregationalism was from the beginning very close to Presbyterianism. The Pilgrims were 'Brownists' or 'Separatists'. Their type of Congregationalism did not survive. The Independents or Puritans, coming later and settling about Massachusetts Bay, were of the 'Barrow' type, very much like
(1)
Presbyterianism. Many of the Puritans had ministers over them Episcopally ordained and regarded themselves members of the Church of England. They therefore had decided aversion to the 'Anarchial' form of church government of the 'Separatist' churches; and as the break with the Church of England became more complete, their tendency was to organize along Presbyterian lines.

1. Dexter, 'Congregationalism as seen in its Literature', 463.

The result for the eighteenth century was that "the Independent churches were so far affected by Presbyterianism as to lay more stress on their Congregationalism than on the Independency"; the form of church government resulting might be called "Presbyterianized Congregationalism."

It was in Western New England that Congregationalism approached most closely to the Presbyterian system. The "Say-

Western New
England.

brook Platform" was made law in

Connecticut in 1709. This was not a

union with independently organized

Presbyterian churches, for there were none such in the colony, but a movement within the Congregational church itself, to control and limit the power of individual churches in a compromise between Congregational and Presbyterian forms of government, set out in fifteen articles. It also was an honest endeavor to check the decay of religious and spiritual life, and to permit a majority of the voters of a town to choose the ministers, whether or no they were members of the church. Connecticut was not united in supporting this plan; yet it remained on the Statute book until 1784, and even later its principles were enforced with
(1)
vigor. Connecticut churches were often called by their own
(2)
pastors and members, "Presbyterian."

About the time of the migration to Nova Scotia, a proposal was made to these "Consociated" churches of Connecticut by the

1. Colonial Records of Conn. VI, 33-34. Palfrey, III, 341.
2. Walker, W., 'A History of the Congregational Churches in the United States', 315.

Presbyterian church in New Jersey "that a general convention be formed of the Congregational, Consociated, and Presbyterian churches of North America." This took place in 1766; but there was no attempt to plan a union of these churches. The great and almost the only subject that occupied their attention was opposition to the establishment of an American Episcopate. The convention continued its meetings until 1775. More practical was the attitude of the Edwards, father and son, who themselves were in favor of a union of the churches. The elder Edwards was president of Princeton; and half the trustees of that institution during his incumbency were graduates of Yale. It is worthy of note, in view of the large numbers emigrating from Connecticut and settling in the vicinity of Horton, that under the leadership of the younger Edwards and of Dwight the differences in polity between Presbyterianism and Connecticut 'Consociationism' were immaterial.

The story of Presbyterian and Congregational relations in Eastern New England is markedly different. For a hundred years

Eastern New England.	the development of the Puritan church was in the direction of Presbyterianism.
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When the north of Ireland immigrants arrived in Massachusetts, however, they were anything but welcome. Their intense Presbyterianism was supposed to imperil Congregationalism of the "standing order". Intolerance was shown them at Worcester and at other places, where they were compelled to pay taxes for the support of the Congregational churches, while maintaining their own. The churches in New Hampshire were not so

harshly treated; but eventually Congregationalism in Massachusetts and in New Hampshire proved strong enough to absorb and assimilate the Ulster immigration and its churches.

While the State church of Massachusetts would not openly admit its Presbyterianism, it was recognized that very little separated the two systems. They both held the same doctrines. The Westminster Assembly's Catechism, (with a slight variation in New England), expressed their religious beliefs. Both had ruling elders and held Synods. The chief differences seem to be these. In the New England Puritan church the Congregational Committee was supreme, the congregation was independent for the most part of outside interference, and could call and dismiss its minister. The conciliar system of Sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods was not reproduced. Presbyterians hold that the call of congregation must be sustained by Presbytery, even though minister and elders control in spiritual affairs. Presbyterianism gives legal authority to the action of its councils; in Massachusetts, though the advice of a council might be asked and accepted, there was no legal appeal to an authority higher than the individual church. Congregationalist and Presbyterians in America differed also in the matter of the church covenant. Some Presbyterian churches signed covenants, but as a rule they were not considered necessary. Congregationalists were accustomed to enter into solemn covenants, and the making and repeating of these is a reminder that 'Separatist' practices survived. In external affairs, Presbyterians observed Communion but once or twice a year; Congregationalists

believed in a monthly celebration. Presbyterians held rigidly to the Psalms; Congregationalists used Watt's hymns.

In Nova Scotia, Congregationalists supported the call of a
 (1)
 Presbyterian minister, formed often a large part of his congre-
 (2)
 gation, and welcomed, even in places where they were most

Evidences of close association in Nova Scotia. numerous, a Presbyterian minister to
 (3)
 their pulpits. The government did not

discriminate between them. The church
 (4)
 buildings of either denomination were termed "Presbyterian", but
 the most impressive evidence of their close association is found
 in their common appeals for help, and in their union in a
 Presbytery meeting.

A document dated April 18th, 1769, at Halifax, soliciting relief for all the Congregational and Presbyterian ministers then resident in the province and signed by merchants of the city and
 province, was given to the Rev. William
 Appeals for help. Moore, Congregational minister, to carry
 to England. A similar appeal, dated
 Cornwallis, Nov. 8th, 1769, was sent through the Rev. Andrew Elliot of Boston to the Congregational churches of New England. The reply and money for distribution came to Salter; but Mr. Elliot asked for further information. A document was sent him in reply by Mr. Salter and Benjamin Gerrish on January 18th, 1770.

1. Truro.
2. Horton.
3. Mr. Cock and Mr. Smith both visited Cornwallis. Mr. Smith preached in the meeting-house at Liverpool on June 30th, 1776 (Simeon Perkin's Diary).
4. M. III, 315.

It described the circumstances of Congregational and Presbyterian ministers and none others.

The most notable event confirming the close connection between these two bodies was the action of Rev. Mr. Lyon and
 (1) Rev. Mr. Murdoch, Presbyterian ministers, and Rev. Mr. Seccombe. (2)

and Rev. Mr. Phelps, Congregational, in
 Presbytery (3)
 Meeting. ordaining the Rev. Bruin Romcas Comingo

to the ministry of the Reformed Church at Lunenburg. In this action they constituted the first Presbytery meeting ever held in Canada. Mr. Comingo, a fisherman and one of the original grantees at Chester, had had no regular training for the ministry, but was a man of character and well-versed in scripture. The Calvinists at Lunenburg, who were determined to have a pastor of their own and could get none from their homeland, pled urgently for his ordination. The meeting was regularly constituted at Halifax. Lord William Campbell, the governor, and members of the Council and of the Church of England were present.

The rules and customs of the meeting-house were carried on in Presbyterian country congregations as a result of this early association. Even in districts settled in the nineteenth century wholly from Scotland, the effect of the "New England Primer" is today not entirely unknown. The most conspicuous forms of New England Congregational church life surviving in the Presbyterian

1. The daughter of Mr. Salter, who was prominent in Mather's Congregational Church, married Rev. Mr. Murdoch, Pres. Minister.
2. Mr. Seccombe preached the sermon (Akins Library, Legislative Library, Hal.)
3. Born in 1723 at Leewarden, Holland.

country churches are found in style of architecture, position of the pulpit, and arrangement of pews. Honored in use in Pictou County, (and considered by many there to be of Scottish origin), are tunes composed in New England for Watts' rendering of the Psalms.

CHAPTER EIGHT. THE DISSENTING CHURCHES: ATTITUDE
DURING THE REVOLUTION.

The causes of the American Revolution have been so exhaustively studied and are so well known that it is only necessary to mention that the same restrictions on trade and manufactures which brought on the conflict further south were enforced in Nova Scotia. Cape Breton coal must not be mined, nor timber cut for smelting purposes, in case the iron manufactures of England should suffer. The British government even refused to sanction an act passed by the local Legislature permitting persons to cut down wood necessary for fuel and the fishery. Humble Scotch-Irish settlers at Truro and Londonderry were rebuked for having spinning wheels in their houses; for no competition with the linen industry of England must be permitted in Nova Scotia any more than in Ulster.

A strong military and naval force at Halifax kept the province loyal throughout the war. While perhaps more than one-half of the population were in sympathy with the rebellion, the authorities had recourse to arms only on a few occasions; the fact that the New England settlers had received their lands as a free gift, and had been excused so long from payment of taxes, and also the knowledge that the Home government had expended such great sums on the province being sufficient in most cases to overcome this feeling and to prevent a general movement to join the
(1)
revolutionaries.

The Assembly was a source of suspicion to the governors; for it contained many members of well-known republican sentiments. In the first year of the war emissaries from the revolted colonies actively canvassed these members; but when the Congress of Philadelphia transmitted its resolves, no reply was sent. This failure to respond was very likely due to the recall of Governor Legge. He was most unpopular in the province and with the Assembly from his haughty manners and unconcealed imperialism. When the home government removed him, they ensured the loyalty of that body.

The period between 1770 and 1776 was naturally one of great public excitement. In 1769 town meetings were forbidden. In 1770 all meetings of a political character were prohibited. Shortly afterwards, the oath of allegiance was ordered to be administered to all over sixteen. Lists of those who refused were called for. In November 1775, martial law was proclaimed. After the general election of 1770 the Assembly sat for fourteen years without being dissolved.

The historian who keeps his eye fixed on Halifax at this time might suspect of the province generally that the "majority were unmistakeably loyal", and that "the disaffected in Nova Scotia were not very great in number, being confined to one or two localities". But Halifax was in 1775 scarcely more than a hamlet, so few of its old inhabitants did it retain, and these were outnumbered by the soldiers and sailors. When the Boston citizens

1. M. II. 493.
2. Hind, 15.
3. M. II.

landed in 1776 there was no longer doubt that the city was predominantly Loyalist, and illuminations and rejoicings followed news of the few British successes. Yet even in this atmosphere and under the shadow of authority other opinions circulated.

Articles termed treasonable were published and the printer reprimanded.⁽¹⁾ Prisoners continued to escape throughout the war in a way that showed the cooperation of the inhabitants.

The great bulk of the population at the outbreak of the war lay outside of Halifax, where loyalty was determined for the most part by nationality and church connection. Most prominent of all elements in the population of Nova Scotia and of the other American colonies in active opposition to the British government were the North of Ireland Presbyterians.

The strong opposition of these settlers in America to British rule is well known. They had come to America with the remembrance

The North of Ireland Presbyterians in America.	of Anglican intolerance and with real wrongs to revenge on England for the ruin of their home industries. ⁽²⁾ They settled
---	---

gave the tone to frontier life and became skilled in forest warfare.	in the frontier districts and there they ⁽³⁾
--	--

resistance that Burgoyne met.	⁽⁴⁾ They were Presbyterians to a man.
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Londonderry, New Hampshire, is said to have furnished more soldiers for Washington's armies than any other town in the State, with one exception. Parker writes, "A Presbyterian Loyalist is a thing

1. Akins, ; also Mass. Historical Society, Proceedings, I, 414, "Memoir of Isaiah Thomas."
2. Trevelyan, 485.
3. Turner, F. J., "Western State-making" (American Historical Review, I, 72, 73).
4. O. 18th, II, 520.

(1)
unheard of."

The Presbyterian preachers fostered the idea of independence and were the most vehement of all in inflaming the patriotic spirit. Tirades were delivered from their pulpits

The Presbyterian
Preachers.

against British tyranny, and every effort was made to fan the flames of

rebellion. A Tory writer remarks, "so great is the rage of fighting among the Presbyterian preachers, that one of them has taken no less than seven different commissions, in order to excite the poor deluded men who have

(2)
taken up arms." The Synod of New Jersey recognized the 'Declaration of Independence' and gave it unanimous approval. (3)

The only clergyman to sit in the Continental Congress and to sign the Declaration was Dr. John Witherspoon, President of (4)
the Presbyterian College of New Jersey.

Ulster Presbyterians were settled in Nova Scotia at Truro, Onslow, and Londonderry, and at these places the Presbyterian Settlements in Nova Scotia. revolutionary spirit naturally was keenest. As early as 1766 the people there had the reputation of being troublesome to the govern-

1. Parker, 102.
2. Moore's Diary of the Revolution, 359, quoted in Levin, S.M. 'Religious Controversy as Effecting the American Revolution of 1776' (American Hist. Rev., 1913, 404); see also Van Tyne, C. H. 'Influence of the clergy, and of religious and sectarian forces, on the American Revolution (American Hist. Rev. Vol. 19).
3. McLean, 'History of the College of New Jersey.'
4. Breed, W. P., 'Presbyterianism and its services in the Revolution of 1776'.

(1) ment. In 1776 they protested against the militia law and forwarded a memorial to that effect. (2) In May 1777, magistrates required them to take the oath of allegiance. When all refused (3) but five, the Attorney General was ordered to prosecute them. In June members from Truro and Onslow were refused their seats in the Assembly, which resolved that the inhabitants of those places on account of their defection were not entitled to the privileges of representation. The member for Londonderry left the province and joined the rebels in June, 1778.

The Presbyterians at Truro and Londonderry could not take up arms against the government both because of the strong forces at Halifax and because they were too far removed from the border and from American assistance. They were compelled to resort to less open means of cooperation with the enemy, by sheltering American prisoners escaped from Halifax, and in feeding and supplying rebel privateersmen, and in repairing their boats on the shores of Cobequid Bay. (4) The more ardent republicans went to Maine. Among these was the Rev. James Lyon, who had been living

Attitude of
Mr. Lyon.

1. Enclosure in a letter of Francklin to Board of Trade, Sept. 2, 1766 ("A" series, P. A. of C. Vol. 78, 16-36). "The government here have experienced more difficulty in keeping peace and good order in the two little towns of Truro and Londonderry settled by Colonel McNutt's followers, than with all the other settlements in the whole Province, they being mostly comprised of persons from the Charter Governments, who still retain so great a degree of republican principles that they make it a point to oppose all occasions every measure of Government calculated to support the Hand and Authority of His Majesty's Crown and dignity."
2. January, 11th, (M. II. 565).
3. M. II. 585.
4. Crown Prosecutions, 72. "Transcripts relating to the American Rebellion." (Dom. Archives, Halifax Branch).

at Onslow. He was an extremely active partisan and wrote in
 extravagant anti-British fashion.⁽¹⁾ There is little doubt that his
 opinions had weight among the people; for all at Onslow refused
 to take the oath. Mr. Lyon went to Machias. He is described as
 "an ardent whig", and as being an enthusiastic supporter of the
 expedition prepared there against Nova Scotia. He was chairman
 of the Watertown meeting summoned on July 1st, 1775, to ask aid
 from Congress; he became chairman of the 'Committee of
 Correspondence';⁽²⁾ barrels of gunpowder for the expedition were
 placed in his charge; and he preached 'a very encouraging sermon'
 to the soldiers.⁽³⁾ Colonel McNutt did not reside at Londonderry in
 these years, but at Port Roseway, on the south shore. He had long
 been noted for his republican proclivities; and, although forced
 to remain quiet in the opening years of the war because of his
 large holdings in the province, he latterly joined the rebel
 forces, and witnessed the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.
 His opinions, published afterwards, are remarkable for their
 fierce language about the Loyalists.⁽⁴⁾

For several years before the commencement of hostilities, the
 people of New England had been accustomed to hear from Congre-
 gational pulpits persistent criticism of
 British Imperial policy. In dread, among
 other things, of an Anglican hierarchy,
 the clergy of the 'State' church of New England threw themselves

Congregational
 Clergy in New
 England.

gational pulpits persistent criticism of
 British Imperial policy. In dread, among

1. Longworth, I., 'A chapter in the history of the township of Onslow' (N.S.H.S. II, 100).
2. Baldwin, 187.
3. Kidder, 42, 134.
4. He refers to them as "the dregs of the human species in America." ('The Constitution and Frame of Government of the Free and Independent State and Commonwealth of New Ireland', Boston Public Library).

with fervor into the preparations for resistance. Of all their number only twelve are known to have been confessed Loyalists,⁽¹⁾ or even luke-warm. The Congregationalists in Nova Scotia and their clergy will therefore be expected, where circumstances permitted, to disclose similar leanings.

At Halifax suspicion centred early on the leading men of Mather's, and three were accused of high treason, but acquitted.

Attitude of Congregationalists in Nova Scotia.

Their political views were well-known, and it was thought that they were promised in the destruction of a quantity

of hay designed for the expedition then embarking at Halifax⁽²⁾ against Boston. In the country, Congregationalist settlements were the scene of demonstrations in favor of the revolting colonies. At Windsor, although members of the Council had farms there, the populace surrounded and threatened to burn the house of a magistrate unless he delivered up a chest of tea.⁽³⁾ At another point in Kings County a liberty pole was cut and made ready to be⁽⁴⁾ hoisted. A number of the principal inhabitants left for the older colonies. But no out-break occurred in all the western part of the peninsula. In the end, the people of these districts suffered more from the hands of their relatives than from the British. Annapolis was captured and plundered by American privateers of August 28th, 1781. These circumstances kept within bounds a natural sympathy with the rebels. Windsor, Falmouth, Horton, Cornwallis, and Newport gave three hundred and eighty-four

1. Sabine, 'History of the Loyalists'.
2. M. II. 539; Simeon Perkin's Diary, 1774.
3. Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings, 8, 358.
4. Kidder, 62.

able-bodied men for the militia regiment enrolled for the defence
 of the province; ⁽¹⁾ but at Annapolis and Granville the people
 refused to enlist. ⁽²⁾ At no time did the settlers of Yarmouth,
 Barrington, and Liverpool have an opportunity to declare them-
 selves. They were in an unhappy situation from the beginning
 of hostilities, ⁽³⁾ for American privateers robbed them of their few
 possessions, ⁽⁴⁾ and British cruisers were on hand to repress any
 revolt in favor of independence. At Liverpool, in 1775, the
 proclamation forbidding all intercourse with the rebels was read.
 On December 19th the oath of allegiance was administered, and no
 formal objections were apparently offered. This submission was
 compulsory; but everywhere there were evidences of secret
 affection with rebellious brethren in the South, ⁽⁵⁾ and so little
 were the people in the western parts trusted by the government
 that all couriers were selected from the Acadian French.

The American settlers at Pictou, aided by some persons from
 Truro, ⁽⁶⁾ seized a vessel within the harbor. The chief centres of
 Congregationalist disaffection, however, were Cumberland County
 and the St. John River valley.

1. M. II, 572.
2. Supplement to Calnek's History, 35.
3. For their intercourse with New England during the war, see Poole, E. D. 'Annals of Yarmouth and Barrington.'
4. Simeon Perkin's Diary, July 30th; Dec. 19th; 1775.
5. See the letters to the S.P.G. 1779-1784 of the Rev. Jacob Bailey, a Loyalist clergyman. He states that he "is settled among a people who have loyalty upon the top of their tongues and rebellion in their hearts." (Nov. 1779).
6. Patterson, 102.

Maugerville and Sheffield were wholly in favor of the
 (1) revolt. Their inhabitants were greatly influenced by the people
 of Machias, a town that early became an asylum for disloyal

The Revolt on
 the St. John.

persons who fled from various parts of
 Nova Scotia. On May 14th, 1776, the
 population of Maugerville, composed
 altogether of Congregationalists, issued a declaration of inde-
 pendence and withdrew themselves from the protection of the
 British flag. They sent a detachment to assist in the capture
 of Fort Cumberland. On the failure of that expedition and of
 American attempts to stir up the Indians, a British sloop of war
 having arrived at the mouth of the River in May 1777, they took
 the oath of allegiance; with the exception of three, who fled to
 Machias. They gave no more trouble to the government during
 the war.

Cumberland County, where the Congregationalists were more
 (2) than half of the population, witnessed an attempt in force against

Eddy Re-
 bellion.

the British flag. This affair has been
 called the "Eddy rebellion". It was an
 attempt to seize the gateway into the
 peninsula of Nova Scotia, with Machias for a base, and relying for
 success on the insurrection of the Cumberland Congregationalists.
 It was short lived. The rebel force appeared before Fort Cumber-
 land on November 17th, 1776. The attack failed. One hundred

1. Letter of George Washington, printed in Allen's Diary, and
 quoted by Raymond, 'River St. John', 430, 442.
2. A petition for help, signed by 64 at Cumberland, 58 at Amherst,
 and 73 at Sackville was sent to Congress on Dec. 23rd, 1775.
 (Milner, 55.)

laid down their arms and were pardoned. The remainder made
 their arduous way back to Maine by way of the upper St. John. ⁽¹⁾

Leading Congregationalists and ministers took active parts
 in rousing the spirit of rebellion in Nova Scotia. The revolt

Congregational
 Ministers in
 Nova Scotia.

on the St. John was led by the deacons
 and by the minister of the Mougerville
 church, Mr. Noble. ⁽²⁾

He induced his
 people to sign the local declaration of independence. He made a
 dramatic escape from the British soldiers in 1777. The Rev.
 Beniah Phelps at Cornwallis was so out-spoken that he was unable
 for a year to get a pass to leave the province. Mr. Seccombe, who
 lived at Chester, and had preached for some years at Mather's
 "was brought before the Council on December 23rd, 1776, charged
 with having preached a seditious sermon on the 1st of September.
 On the 6th of January he was brought before the Council a second
 time, and an affidavit that he had prayed for the success of the
 rebels was produced, on which he was ordered to find security for
 £500 for his behaviour and to be debarred from preaching until he
 had signed a recantation." ⁽³⁾ The Rev. John Frost of Argyle, who
 was also a magistrate, was accused before the Council of express-
 ing in a public discourse "his hopes and wishes that the British
 forces in America might be returned to England confuted and con-

1. In Col. Eddy's Memoirs (quoted in Kidder, 76) there is a list of 59 names of Cumberland farmers who settled permanently in Maine.
2. Mr. Noble's letter to George Washington, (Hannay, 109).
3. M. II, 584.

(1)
 fused." The Rev. Samuel Wood of Barrington returned to New
 England and became a chaplain with the Continental forces. (2)
 All the other Congregational clergymen left the province at the
 commencement of the war; and none are known to have had any
 sympathies with the British government.

The parts played by Dissenters during the war had a profound effect on their fortunes when a Loyalist government came to control the province. The results have been indicated in preceding chapters, and may be summarized in conclusion. Four Congregational churches survived eventually; the remainder becoming Baptist and Presbyterian. The Methodists of Cumberland received more tolerance after the peace; for when Congregationalists aided the invading force there, in all possible ways, and when one of the rebel leaders, ^{a Scotsman and a Presbyterian,} is declared by Hannay to have been "the most dangerous enemy the British Government had in Nova Scotia", no Yorkshire settler is known to have swerved from his
 (3)
 allegiance. The Presbyterian Highlanders at Pictou, although loyal, were few in numbers compared with the Methodists in Cumberland, nor were they placed in so strategic a position. Those on the Island of St. John were far removed from the scene of trouble. The part played by these groups in the war was therefore an inconspicuous one. Mr. Murdoch, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Cock as far as can be ascertained expressed no sympathy with the rebels. The last two were in a delicate position, as ministers to North of Ireland

1. Campbell (quoting Council Records), 69.
2. Crowell, 166.
3. N.S.H.S. I, 110; M. II, 586.

Presbyterians. The Established Church of Scotland found a foothold in St. Matthew's, Halifax, and in a Loyalist congregation at Shelburne, on the conclusion of peace. These two bodies received some government favor. But neither to the Presbyterians⁽¹⁾ generally at Halifax, nor to those of the country districts, were concessions granted for many years, because of their war history, and because of the large number of Congregationalists who found a refuge in their churches.

1. The 65 acres of glebe land set aside for Mather's in 1751 (see p. 157), in 1777 were granted to Major-General John Campbell. In 1789, when the congregation (which had become St. Matthew's Presbyterian) petitioned for an equivalent, they did not receive even a polite refusal (Murray, N.S.H.S. XVI, quoting Minutes, June 10th, 1789).

CHAPTER NINE. HENRY ALLINE. CONCLUSION.

~~The origin of the churches in the settlements and conditions affecting their growth have been the subject matter of the foregoing chapters.~~ The last chapter has described the ^{attitude} ~~attitude~~ of the churches ^{at the commencement of} ~~the~~ the war; an event that changed somewhat the ^{alignment} ~~alignment~~ with the settlements. Even more completely than by the war, was the old order broken up by the activities of a single man, Henry Alline. His missionary career, beginning with his conversion in 1775 and ending with his death in 1784, covered the same years as the Revolution.

Henry Alline was born in Newport, Rhode Island, in 1748, and came with his parents to Falmouth, Nova Scotia, in 1760. His conversion and his travels are vividly described in his ⁽¹⁾ own journal. The history of revival in New England profoundly affected him. From the day of his conversion he determined to awaken with a spiritual summons, the settlements of Nova Scotia.

The record of his activities is continuous. He preached day and night. He visited every settlement mentioned in this essay, except ^{St. John's} ~~those~~ in Cape Breton. He found time even to publish his views and to edit a volume of five hundred hymns, some composed by himself. With an unsound constitution, he could not withstand the hardships imposed by his long journeys on horseback through the wilds, and he died at North Hampton,

1. Alline, H. 'Journal' (Published in Boston in 1806).

N. H., on January 22nd, 1784.

Alline reproduced in Nova Scotia the phenomena of the "New Light" movement within the Congregational Church of New England. He never broke away from the Congregational church. He was opposed to Baptism by immersion. But he encountered the most vehement opposition from Congregational ministers of the 'Standing Order.' Mr. Cook and Mr. Smith, Presbyterian ministers, were as uncompromising in their attitude toward him, and even journeyed to Cornwallis to deal with him. But Alline was of a most determined nature. In disputations he repudiated their Calvinism, especially the doctrines they held of Election and the Atonement.

There is little doubt that he converted hundreds and changed the moral tone of the settlements. There is no doubting his sincerity and zeal; or his ability in meeting the spiritual needs of remote out-posts. He countered the degrading effects of war years. Nevertheless, his work, being carried on ⁱⁿ contempt of all external features of church life, was more destructive than upbuilding. His protracted absences and early death left all the settlements in confusion. No congregation had escaped his inroads, which were regarded by ministers and other persons of the 'Standing Order' of Congregationalism as in the last degree mischievous.

This essay does not attempt to estimate the qualities of a figure who attracted the study of William James, and who has long been known as the "Whitefield" of Nova Scotia; only to tell the results of his career as they affect a survey of settlements and

churches. Some years after his death, six of the seven young men who^m he had chosen and ordained, formed the "Congregational-Baptist Association of Nova Scotia". The churches they served shortly ~~afterwards~~ became Baptist in every sense. A long time afterward, the effect of Alline's work was noticeable even in the congregation of St. Paul's, Halifax, when a great part withdrew and joined the Baptist Church of Nova Scotia.

The essay has discussed the origin and fortunes of the Protestant churches in Nova Scotia before the American Revolution. The churches, it has been shown, grew out of settlements. The settlements had, therefore, to be exhaustively surveyed; and this involved bringing Nova Scotia into the main current of history. The results of research have been various: the investigator is led to recognize that New Englanders formed the largest racial group in the settlements of the period, to appreciate the numerical strength of the Congregational church, but to note also that the relations between the churches were happier than they were in the subsequent ~~period~~ years, and particularly to lay emphasis on the general importance of the pre-Loyalist period for the future history of Nova Scotia and of Canada.

While, however, the social, political, and religious state of Nova Scotia to-day is to be explained, to a great extent, by the pre-Loyalist settlers and the principles and practices they brought to her shores, there followed two later sub-periods of settlement under British rule, both with lasting results for the life of the province; the Loyalist, following immediately on the close of the American war, and the Scottish, in the early decades of the nineteenth century; and these await a more scientific study than they have yet received.

APPENDIX I.

THE ACADIANS.

The following brief notes indicate the state of the Acadian settlements and churches in the period studied.

1764. Instructions were received from England permitting the ^{returning} French Acadians to become settlers in Nova Scotia on their taking the oath of allegiance (M. II, 442).

From this year Acadian settlements were to be found at St. Peter's, Canso; Minudie, Memramcook, Petitcodiac; on the upper St. John River, and on the Island of St. John.

1768. July 1st. The township of Clare, on St. Mary's Bay, was laid out and granted to the Acadians. (Haliburton, II, 172; M. II, 503).

1770. Pere Bailly de Messeir was appointed priest to the Acadians at Clare, receiving from the government a salary of £50.

The only other priest enjoying full freedom at that time in the province was the Abbe Antoine Simon Maillard, missionary to the Indians, who also received a salary from the government (M. II, 480).

The first church to be erected by the returning Acadians was built at Church Point in 1770.

APPENDIX II.

THE EMANCIPATION OF THE CATHOLICS.

The Act of 1774 establishing the Roman Catholic religion in Quebec affected greatly the prospects of Catholic freedom in Nova Scotia. The first Assembly of the province had passed an act 'for the establishment of religious worship in the province, and for suppressing popery' (October, 1758). Priests other than those given the protection of the government, were compelled to leave the country. But on June 21st, 1781, a bill favoring the Catholics was proposed (M. II. 615); and in 1783 an act was passed that repealed many of the disabilities imposed by former laws (23 Geo. III c 3). On July 19th, 1784, the frame of a small Catholic Church was raised on Barrington St., Halifax. (M, III, 118). Further steps in the growth and in the emancipation of the Catholics, may be traced as follows:

- 1802, March 1st. Edmund Burke, vicar general of the diocese of Quebec, petitioned to incorporate the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec, and to build schools in Nova Scotia (M. III, 118).
- 1818, July 5th. Edmund Burke, pastor of the R. C. Church at Halifax, was installed at Quebec as the first R. C. Bishop of N. S.
- 1820, June 9th. The corner stone of St. Mary's Cathedral, Halifax, was laid.
1827. John Carrol and others successfully petitioned the Assembly for the abolition of the Test Act.

APPENDIX III.

Eight maps accompany this volume under separate cover. They form the most complete set obtainable from the map room, Dominion Archives.

1. 1761. Peninsula of Nova Scotia. (E. 3144).
2. 1761. A Plan of the Northern Coast of the Bay of Fundy and the River St. John's in the Province of Nova Scotia. (C. 3369).
3. 1761. Chignecto District. (C. 2988).
4. 1765 - 1766. The Peninsula. (C. 3145).
5. 1766. Part of Nova Scotia. McNutt's Memoria. (C. 3146).
6. 1775. The Island of St. John. (Tray I, 48).
7. 1775. A Plan of the Island of St. John. (C. 2913).
8. 1787. Nova Scotia divided into Counties. (C. 3152).

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